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Pro-Slavery.

THREATS OF FIGHTING AND DISUNION.

A Washington correspondent of the *Richmond Republican* in allusion to the Anti-Chattel-Slavery movements in Congress, writes,

"One thing, to my mind, is apparent. If the most discreet of the Northern men do not very soon cut themselves loose from the lead of Giddings, Palfrey and Co. and pay more regard to the spirit of the Constitutional Compact, than they have done lately, there will be scenes of violence in the House, which all good citizens may have reason to deplore. I have heard Southern men declare that they will not much longer stand this everlasting intermeddling with their domestic institutions—this constant agitation so well calculated to render the peace of the South insecure. They will hereafter make it a personal issue with any Northern man so offending—proclaim him a traitor to the Union, and an enemy to the public peace—and, instead of *leaving* the Hall, as has sometimes been proposed, they will take the remedy in their own hands, and *drive the traitors out*. If the guarantees of the Union *are to be fought for*, the battle might as well commence in the Hall as any where else. This may seem like strong talk, but I believe it is not a mere bravado. It is becoming the sentiment of some of the most discreet of the Southern members, who have heretofore been perfectly calm on the subject. * * * * *

"I repeat my belief that the session will not pass off without some of the most violent scenes ever witnessed in the Capital. There must be a stopping point, if the Union is to be preserved."

A division of the Union is talked of by other Southerners, and Atalanta in Georgia is named as the location for the Capital of the Southern States; and if there is not a Northern party in Congress who desire this result it is difficult to ascertain what other object they have in view. If they desired freedom for the blacks, they would as a first step, advocate the freedom and limitation of the public lands, so that blacks as well as whites might have a place to *be* free. If their measures merely aim to change the condition of the coloured race from chattel to wages servitude, it is time that it were more generally understood that the only effect would be to reduce the great body of the landless, black and white, to a worse condition than they are in at present. Two-thirds of the blacks, landless and compelled to work for wages and pay rent, would probably do as much for their masters as the whole do now, without getting more than they now do, and the other third would increase the competition for masters and landlords among the wages slaves of the North. But if the real measures of Freedom were adopted, freedom and limitation of the public lands and land limitation of the public lands and land limitation in each State, how different would be the result! how easily would Involuntary Servitude of every kind gradually disappear from among us!

The Land Reform measures would obviate all necessity for a division of the Union, and all necessity of fighting to preserve it.—*Young America.*

From the North Star.

FARM NIGH ATHENS, GEORGIA, December, 1848.

J. DICK AND FRED. DOUGLASS:—I like not to misdignify myself by writing to negroes, that I know my natural inferiors, and who may be incorrigibly bent on insolence, *as if sauciness were the sign of freedom*; still, to a well-behaved and humble negro, slave or free, I should regard it no lowering of dignity to correspond with sometimes. Neither of you, by the paper called North Star, if you are both black men, appear to meet the character of the coloured man to whom I would send a letter. In my first letter, I should have said, I have no disposition to lower my dignity by writing to a rebellious, turbulent, reckless negro, who possesses charms only for kindred white or black spirits at the North.

I now resume the correspondence, in order to admonish you of the total irrelevancy to your race of behaving in the manner you do towards the Southern slaveholder and the Northern white man. It is always comprehended among us that the negroes are a peppery, irritable and proud and obdurate people, who, when they have chance, would be sure to prove always irksome and often intolerable to European society. I have seen them wantonly sneer at their white owners and others in the Southern country. I have evidence they continually insult the white people at the North. It seems to be fated you, or to be impossible for you to act with that becoming propriety which should evince a worthy, and an intelligent and pious people. Hence, many at the North wish you in Liberia, and many more slaveholders at the South wish the slaves colonized away in their patrimonial dominions. All these is the result more of your character and conduct, than of colour only.

For evidence that you act improperly and unintelligently, let me call your attention to two instances. (I write you again to make these corrections.) In publishing my first letter to Douglass, you said you "would not insult the common sense of your readers, by attempting to answer it;" and that it "shot wide of the mark," and was not argumentary. How did you know it was not full of arguments? Could your obtuse faculties and dim perceptions never grasp hold of what is obvious to all white men of mind, that you [even if attempting the work] could not controvert my points? Ah, Frederick, you have not yet been put where powerful arguments were unyieldingly in contention; you have not had yet, in any master mind, an opponent who would contest with you every inch of ground, and leave you finally subdued. You have only been on a *gala* in England, where silly Abolitionists were but too ready to give unto all your Sinbad (Arabian Nights) marvellous tales of horrors in this Southern prison-house; and are in Rochester among dear friends who are more intent, white as their skins are, to use you, if possible, to mortify the slaveholder, than to do you any good *propria personæ*. Meantime, you and your ebon crew form the most violent and pernicious part of the emancipatists.

In that letter, did you see no argument in my representing the inferiority and superiority of the two races respectively, and the necessity of the relation now existing between them? Did you, whilst Dick sneered at the "decrees," called me a "Calvinist," and disparage "pious anuls," not be aware that he was then deriding "holy writ," and blaspheming the spirit, as your father Ham did when he rebelled against Noah, for dooming him and drove that ancestor upon the steppes of Asia? Did I not tell you that you would accredit nothing the Bible, and white may say, in the favour of the blessed part of the human family?—blessing you can no more depreciate, desparage, controvert, or sap, or mine, that you can take the mastery of the white man. No; in any struggle, your race would succumb—have ever done so—suppliant in all regions of the world except Haiti, where sixteen negro slaves stood against one white man, with the aid of the British. But pitch any five white men against any ten or fifteen negroes, and give fair play, and as usual the latter will serve the former. Can the "Decrees" of God then, be sneered at, and I, only a Calvinist, for asserting them? Does not the Omnipotent know why and wherefore He did so constitute the human family? And if He "made of one blood all the nations that dwell on the earth," has He not "appointed the bounds of their habitations?" Is not African Slavery, therefore, a violation of the terms of that appointment? Yes, it is so. The negro cannot find himself in his own habitation or element, till he is upon the soil of Africa, and then if his own colour does not enslave him, he is free indeed. We cannot go there and enslave your people and live. God has separated the colours as, clearly as any fact in nature can be proved by philosophy and observation.

The other instance is, your attempt, to underestimate Mr. Webster at Lynn, Massachusetts. It is equally an error as your attempt not to see the arguments of my first letter. Mr. Webster has always been the friend of your race, and never was in favour of Slavery; but he cannot, like Garrison, endeavour to destroy the Constitution of his country, in any effort to liberate the Africans; for aside from the bad taste and impropriety of thus violating his official oath, to serve the Constitution next to his God, the inexpediency of such a course is the more glaring. Any violent effort to free the slaves in this land, would be a civil war, and perhaps rivet their chains the more strongly. You and Garrison may not care about this, and would attempt to do it, and risk all in one prodigious ruin? Where, then, is YOUR fixed principle. Mr. Webster's fixed moral, and political, and religious principle, disallow his venturing on so foolhardy and insane an experiment.—He therefore, though he does not like a slaveholder, argued and voted for Taylor in preference to Cass, and Van Buren, and Gerrit Smith, for reasons of state, and to rescue the country from, in his opinion, the political spoilers. His reasons, therefore, are obvious and principled, though you did not evidently see them.

I would advise you as a friend to go to Liberia, and to urge your free coloured brethren to this course. In the long run, stopping in America can do the coloured race no good; and the heart-burnings you experience among your white friends would always keep you under excitement. Strive to have a good, mild, amiable heart; and knowing your place, act as one conscious that God's (Christ's) decree is forever for the best, and after awhile, your race's captivity, "like Job's," be turned, and they may form again, as of old, a Republic, and a better one, in Africa.

J. J. FLOURNOY.

Selections.

SLAVE EMANCIPATION IN KENTUCKY.

After the lapse of fifty years, the people of Kentucky are again about to assemble in convention, for the purpose of revising and readjusting their constitution. With the lights they now have, and with the aid of the best, most reliable teacher—practical experience—they are about to apply the proper test to the work of their predecessors, retaining what is good, rejecting or altering what is bad. When those predecessors framed the present constitution, negro Slavery was the most exciting topic, and felt by all to be by far the most important subject for consideration. Now again, that institution stands prominently forth, as of most importance, most needing revision and the most difficult properly to readjust. If there needed any apology, for venturing to commune with our fellow citizens on such a subject, it might be found in the fact, that several gentlemen of Louisville have been written to from various parts of the State, urging that some initiatory step should be taken here, towards properly presenting the subject of emancipation for the consideration and decision of the people of Kentucky. We deem it every way best, that our consultations with the friends of emancipation, should be carried on publickly and with the knowledge of the whole State. In so doing, it may not be inappropriate to premise, that we are, most of us, native born Kentuckians and slaveholders; and all of us, the one, or the other.—This fact, in connexion with whatever may be afforded by our private characters, is the guarantee we have to offer, that we do not mean recklessly to aid in agitating the State with this exciting topic, and that we fully sympathize with the just odium felt against the officious and offensive intermeddling of northern fanatics. A sincere participation in this feeling, cannot be doubted, when all know, that under the malign influence of Abolitionists, the cause of emancipation has materially retrograded in Kentucky within the last ten or fifteen years, and that their acts, have cast such disfavour around the whole subject, as almost to preclude an impartial, or even a patient hearing from the people of Kentucky.—So viewing the condition of public sentiment, it has been the most ultra Pro-Slavery men of our State, who have urged forward the coming convention, selecting this as a propitious period for doing it with impunity to their favoured policy, and in the hope of perpetuating it among us by opening the door, and having it always kept open, for the further importation of slaves. It is they who have prematurely forced the question upon the advocates of emancipation, and the latter have no alternative but to meet the issue as they may. The object of this address is to bring about that concert of action among the friends of emancipation which is indispensable to success, if the issue is now to be tried, or to cause its absolute waiver and postponement for the present.

The framers of our constitution may have acted right or rationally on the Slave-question, according to their information and belief as to its probable operation. They thought, and according to their then experience, they had reason to suppose, that keeping up negro Slavery, was the most certain and expeditious mode of bringing to the State the population and labour necessary to subduing its forests and giving value to its vast body of unimproved land. Most of us, had we been acting upon their information, would probably have decided as they did. But, with the information derived from the practical experience of fifty years, all candid men must admit that their decision was erroneous, and that, if a system of gradual emancipation had been then adopted, the population and wealth of Kentucky would be at least double, if not treble what they now are.—The proof of this lies in a comparison of the condition of Virginia as to population and wealth, with that of New York or Pennsylvania, and in a similar comparison between Kentucky and Ohio.

In 1790, Virginia had a population of 740,000, whilst Pennsylvania had only 430,000, and New York only 340,000. In 1840, Virginia had only 1,240,000 whilst Pennsylvania had 1,720,000, and New York had 2,400,000. A comparison of their wealth, the yield of their industrial pursuits and the means of accumulating future wealth, is equally to the disadvantage of Virginia. In 1800, Kentucky had a population of 220,000. Ohio 45,000 and Indiana 4,800, Kentucky had only 780,000 whilst Ohio had 1,520,000, and Indiana 680,000. At the late Presidential Election, Indiana cast some 40,000 votes more than Kentucky. From 1830 to 1840, Indiana doubled her population, and Ohio added fifty per cent. to hers, whilst the increase in Kentucky was only about thirteen per cent. But what still more strikingly illustrates the halting, if not deteriorating condition of Kentucky, is, that during the same period, the increase of the population of the whole Union was full thirty three per cent. Thus it is shown that for the last twenty years, Kentucky will not have retained near her own natural increase, whilst Indiana will have trebled, and Ohio more than doubled her population. It is difficult to form any estimate of the immigration to Kentucky in the last thirty years, but it is believed that if the settlers in a few of the larger towns on the Ohio river be excluded from the estimate, the whole accession in that way, for that long period, does not amount to more than five hundred to one thousand families. During those thirty years whilst the immense stream of immigration has been pouring population, wealth, mechanic and manufacturing skill and industry into the States north of us, it seems to have avoided Kentucky as though she had been a land of pestilence and a sanitary cordon had been drawn round her borders. Her soil and geographical position are equal, and her climate superior to either of those States, and for twenty years, the average price of her land has been less than that of Ohio. No cause can be plausibly urged for a state of things of such portentous omen and warning, but that obvious reason, which is at once suggested to every reflecting man. Kentucky tolerates Slavery and those States do not. In 1800, 45,000 people in Ohio, started on a career of competition against 220 000 people in Kentucky, for populating and enriching the most rapidly their respective States. Ohio rejecting the institution of negro Slavery, whilst it was retained and nourished by Kentucky. The result has been, in less than fifty years, that the 45,000 of Ohio have grown to a population of 2,000,000, and the 220,000 of Kentucky have grown to the amount of only some 800,000, whilst the aggregate wealth, mechanical manufacturing and commercial industry of the two States, are in about the same disproportion.

Nor is this all. If we compare the increase of population and wealth of Kentucky for the last thirty years with that of her southwestern sisters, the result is equally to her disadvantage. Starting in 1830 on a basis of 165,000 slaves, in 1840 they had only increased to 182,000, and from 1840 till now they have increased to only 192,000, giving as the whole increase for eighteen years, only 27,000 or some sixteen per cent. whereas the natural increase should have given 100,000 or more than sixty per cent.—Had Kentucky retained her natural increase for the last thirty years, her population in 1850 would be upwards of 1,300,000 instead of only 800,000.

These facts incontestably prove that the climate and agriculture of Kentucky are not suited to negro Slavery, and whilst they prevent her from prospering as a Slave State, the institution of Slavery has heretofore prevented and must continue to prevent the increase of her white population, and of that wealth and industry which ever accompany an exclusively white population, and are never found as accompaniments to negro Slavery. That Kentucky is in an unnatural or false position, may to some minds be more strikingly illustrated by a comparison with her near neighbour Tennessee, over whom she has the advantage in extent of territory, amount of rich lands, climate and geographical position.—The climate of Tennessee being somewhat better suited to negro labour, she has outstripped Kentucky in both white and slave population. From a population of 680,000 in 1830 she increased to 830 000 in 1840, or over twenty-two per cent, the increase in Kentucky being only some thirteen per cent; the increase of slaves in Tennessee was from 140,000 to 180,000 near thirty per cent, while that of the slaves in Kentucky for the same period, was not eleven per cent.

These indisputable facts are worthy the most mature consideration of the people of Kentucky, in determining her future course as to negro Slavery.—They incontestably prove that the institution has thus far been a curse, a withering blight on her growth and prosperity and must so continue as long as the institution is kept up in the State. They prove that when negro Slavery was adopted, a great error was committed and the State placed in a false position, from which every dictate of common sense inculcates the duty of relieving her, as soon as practicable. They prove that by the laws of nature, it is impracticable for her ever to become a prosperous slaveholding State. Those same laws of nature unerringly point out to us her true position and most persuasively invite her to become a prosperous Free State. Five sixths of the voters and two thirds of the landed proprietors of the State not being slave owners, it will be for them to determine whether the slave owning minority shall not be ruled into some modification of the system which shall ultimately relieve the State from so gross an evil.

It is not our purpose to comment upon any of the very many moral evils, to our white population, attendant on negro Slavery for Kentucky parents do not require to be reminded of them. The indolence and consequent dissipation produced by the degradation of manual labour, the bad, ungoverned passions acquired under an unavoidable lax parental discipline, are some of those evils, which have left bitter results for the remembrance of nearly every family connexion in the State.

The great mistake committed in regulating this subject by the constitution, is without remedy for the past, and much of the future, yet it is not absolutely irremediable for the whole future. It is but the dictate of ordinary wisdom to retrace that false step, by applying the corrective as far as practicable, and not to overlook beneficial results, however remote may be their fruition. Though nothing can be done for the benefit of the present generation, that is no reason, something should not be done for the benefit of succeeding generations. Constitution framers, necessarily, act as much with a view to posterity as to themselves. This is a sacred duty which every generation owes to its successors.

The people of Western Virginia, have already commenced a serious movement, with the view to obtain an amendment of the constitution of that State, which shall allow each county to decide for itself, whether Slavery shall be permitted within its bounds. This, if successful, will be followed by a similar movement in East Tennessee, where there are very few slaves. The comparatively smaller number of slaves in Kentucky, the little actual need of them, together with her geographical position, render the work of emancipation much more easy with us, than either of those States. It would therefore seem, that we should lead the way, rather than wait to follow their example, on the subject of emancipation. Should the example of Kentucky, influence those States, with Maryland and Missouri also, to a similar course, the result will be of incalculable national benefit. These five States now constitute the great national nurseries for the growth of slaves. If the present system is kept up in them, the slave population of the Union, in fifty years, will be over twelve millions. With the mental and physical improvement, the blacks will have attained in that time, no reflecting man can doubt the danger to the whites, from such an immense slave population; or, that self preservation will compel the whites of that day, to thin off the slaves with the sword. Can we, of the present generation, with justice, entail on posterity such a horrible necessity; one which shall give such a lasting stain to our national annals?—Does not an enlarged consideration of national, as well as State policy, require that such results should be brought to view and kept in view, whilst adjusting this subject? Does it not require from us, all that can be properly done, in avoidance of future evils of such magnitude? Close these five great nurseries for the propagation of slaves, and we shall avoid that evil. The subdivision of slaves among so many owners, withdraws the females from field labour, secures their marriage, affords the sick and infants proper care, and thus renders those States such prolific nurseries. Where slaves are held in large gangs and the females subject to field labour they do not propagate near so fast. It is said that in Louisiana among the Creole planters, propagation is not near sufficient to keep up the number of slaves.—The Southern States if left to their own natural increase would not double their slaves in fifty years.

There is, among ourselves, great diversity of opinion, as to the proper remedy for Slavery, as also in regard to the time and mode of its application. The same diversity of opinion no doubt prevails throughout the State. But, from the best information we can obtain, we are well convinced, that a very gradual prospective emancipation, is all that the people of Kentucky will consent to. To obtain even that much, we are equally convinced, that the slaveholders must be perfectly satisfied, that the friends of emancipation aim at nothing more. Most of us also think, that not merely a deference to the public will, but sound policy and justice require, the proposed reformation to be so confined.

To obtain concert of action, we propose that a convention be held, some time next spring—say the first Monday in April, of delegates from the friends of emancipation in the different counties of the State, First:—to ascertain what is the true state of public sentiment, whether a fair proportion of the slaveholders are willing for any mode of emancipation, and if it be found on a candid interchange of information that there is no likelihood of effecting anything, then with manly frankness avow the fact, postpone the question for the present, limit our efforts to obtaining a prohibition in the constitution against the further importation of slaves, and thus save the State from the mischiefs of a profitless agitation of the subject. Second:—should the information thus obtained, warrant the hope of success, then to insure it, by proposing a plan of such moderation as will conciliate confidence in its projectors, and secure the approbation of a majority of the people.

We have much confidence in the belief that a plan can be devised, which by not materially affecting the individual rights of property, not suddenly disturbing the relation of master and slave, not injuring the great industrial pursuits of the State, and not suddenly casting upon our society at any one time a large mass of unprepared emancipated negroes, will secure general approval and obtain the sanction of a majority of the State. Without wishing to forestall the plans of others, or supposing that other and better plans cannot be devised, but merely as an earnest of our own moderation and as an evidence of the facility with which some such plan may be found, we beg leave to suggest the following for consideration.

All females born after a named day to be free at the age of twenty-one, and all the issue of such after born females to be free at their birth.

The plan will require more than fifty years for its full accomplishment, and near fifty years before the number of adult male slaves will be materially reduced. It will therefore have little operation beneficial or otherwise, upon the present generation of either blacks or whites. Its benefits for both races are mostly prospective. It affords ample time for society to accommodate itself to the new state of things. It makes no sudden disturbance of the relation of master and slave. There will be a gradual substitution of free white for black slave labour, and no large amount of blacks will be emancipated at the same time. Whilst the white population will in fifty years have more than trebled, the black from exportation, emigration, colonization, and other causes will not increase much from what it now is. The one will be two millions, whilst the other will be only about three hundred thousand. The husbands of the freed females being kept in bondage, will mostly retain the wives also in the service of their former masters. The prior right to have the children apprenticed to them till twenty-one years old, should be secured to the former owners of the wives. The mothers will almost universally stay by their children, and they will be thus saved from vagrancy, and the children afforded the best sort of pupilage or apprenticeship. The wives will find that support for themselves will be nearly as much as they can earn any where, and their former owners will find ample compensation from the labour of the wife and the apprenticeship of the children to afford them food and clothing. The three large adjoining Free States will unavoidably, if not willingly, absorb more than half of those that finally become free.—With two millions of white population in our State, the intermixture of at most some two hundred thousand free blacks, can be no great grievance.

The rights and interests of the present owners of slaves, are all that need be taken into view upon any questions of right or justice. The rights of those who may hereafter become owners of slaves, not now born, are in no way involved. This plan takes from the pocket of the present owner nothing, or so little, that he cannot appreciate the pecuniary loss. The unborn issue of a female slave is estimated at very little. In the judgment of most men, it does not constitute a tenth of her marketable value—in other words a purchaser would not abate a tenth in the price of a young woman on account of her barreness. The chance of male or female issue being equal, the value of the chance of female issue alone cannot, then, be more than one twentieth of her price. That, on an average price of $300 would be only some $15. Nor does the plan leave the owners of slaves, as a class, altogether uncompensated for even this slight loss. It will be fully compensated, without estimating the increase in the value of land resulting from an increase of white population by a permanent prohibition against the importation of slaves, thus giving owners the monopoly of the Kentucky market, where slaves will necessarily increase in value as they diminish in number. Besides all pretence of injustice to the owner is obviated by the fact, that he will, as now, be at liberty to export his slave to a Southern market, where he can obtain more for her than she is worth at home. But upon what principle of justice can the slaveholders, who constitute so small a minority, insist upon keeping in the State, for their exclusive benefit, a species of property which is so greatly detrimental to a large majority of the people of the State. So use your own as not to injure another, is a principle of universal justice.

The carrying out such a system of gradual emancipation is no experiment. The examples of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, show that it can be done without detriment or failure. There is no doubt about the substitution of free white for black labour, and the chances are that it will be as cheap.

It has been a long cherished hope with many of the friends of emancipation in this State, that whenever it commenced, it might be accompanied with a system of African Colonization which would remove the blacks from Kentucky as fast as they were emancipated. This is to be desired if it be practicable to accomplish it.

But the principal anxiety felt in favour of colonization is probably owing to a very exaggerated estimate of the evils to be felt from having a free black population. If the whole of the slaves, near two hundred thousand, were now to be set free and remain among us with our present white population of only 600,000, the grievance would no doubt be very heavy. But fifty years hence, when the proposed plan shall take effect, according to fair calculation we shall have a white population of two millions, whilst the black, if they all remain here, will not much exceed two hundred thousand; and certainly not amount to more than three hundred thousand. The largest of these number, with their previous training for freedom, will not be a very heavy burthen to a white population of two millions. But neither the whole, nor the half of them will remain in Kentucky. Ohio at that day with her six millions of whites, will be able and willing to absorb one or two hundred thousand free blacks, without any inconvenience. The two States of Indiana and Illinois with an equal amount of whites, will absorb the same number. They are preferred there, as here, for various branches of menial service. Such is the predilection among us for black servants, that if we had two million of whites and every black was driven from the State, in less than ten years at least, one hundred thousand free negroes would find their way among us, and meet a ready reception in despite of any legal inhibition against them. If this conjecture be true, the evil from negroes, be it what it may, is unavoidable, and one which we would have to endure, even though we succeeded in sending off the whole of our blacks, by some faultless plan of African colonization. It is, therefore, no sufficient objection to the proposed plan, that it does not provide for the driving off or carrying off the emancipated blacks.

It is easy to show an apparent great State loss, by taking the probable number of slaves fifty years hence, multiplying that by an average value, and thus producing an immense sum which will be insisted on as a total loss of so much to the State at large, though no actual loss can be shown to any particular present owner of slaves. This calculation is entirely fallacious. If at the end of the fifty years, the slaves were all to be carried from the State, and sold in a foreign market, there would be some plausibility in the idea. If the slaves are ever to be carried from the State, their market value had as well be realized in that way now as then. But as the slaves will be retained here as long as the system is kept up, and though they have a marketable value between man and man at home, they add nothing to the entire wealth of the State, except so far as the system tends to reduce the cost of the whole labour done in the State. For if the slaves when emancipated would do the same labour, for the same wages, that is for a bare subsistence, then it would matter not to the aggregate wealth of the State, whether they be slaves or free. All the capital invested in slaves, which is not necessary to making their labour as cheap as white labour, is just so much profitless capital thrown away, so far as the general wealth of the whole State is concerned. Whether the aggregate of our whole slave system produces any saving in the cost of the whole labour of the State, even at the present rate of wages in Kentucky, is a much disputed and very disputable point. When wages shall more nearly approximate the cost of subsistence, then obviously slaves will add nothing to the aggregate wealth, for it matters not to the State whether the wages be retained in the pocket of the master citizen, or paid out to the citizen labourer. According to the calculations of many intelligent persons the wages of free labour will be so low fifty years hence, that slaves will not be worth having. Certain it is, that more than half of the labouring population of Europe, is now working for a scanty supply of bad clothing and worse food. They annually die by thousands, from starvation, because they cannot obtain work even on those terms. The natural increase of the population of the United States, will in fifty years give us sixty millions which must render the competition among labourers very great, and reduce their wages very low. There is not the slightest reason for doubting, that after elevating personal labour to its proper dignity, there will be abundant facility in substituting free for slave-labour, and at the same cost to the employers.

Let not any friend to emancipation withhold his aid from the accomplishment of some such plan, because it is not, as he conceives, doing enough. Fifty years is a life time, and more than a whole life time to most men, but it is a very short period in the life of a State. Any movement in that direction, however slow, is of much value and a great gain to the general cause of emancipation. Even a permanent prohibition against the importation of slaves is worth battling for. The friends of the cause have had many earnest contests in the legislature to secure that very point. It is a leading motive with their adversaries, in endeavouring to get the control of the convention that they take from emancipation that element of future strength.

Do not Kentucky statesmen owe it to their own reputation for justice and intelligence, as well as to the fair fame of their good mother, whom they all love so well, that they shall make some such movement? Can they fold their arms in scornful indifference to the enlightened public sentiment of the civilized world and refuse to make any movement, however small, towards emancipation. That public sentiment has become a great power among the nations. We vaunt that, by our American precepts and example, we have put it in motion. It is a tremendous energy we have vivified, as we hope for the good of man. Who for himself or his country can venture to despise or defy it? Neither our climate nor our agricultural pursuits afford us the pretext that Slavery is a necessary or unavoidable evil among us. Whatever may be our own convictions as to its policy or its justice, the civilized world has uttered so emphatic a condemnation against the system as a mere question of justice, when it can be avoided, that self-respect must compel us to do something. This obligation is all the more imperative, when we, ourselves, feel that all men know, we can do much without essentially injuring the pocket of a single living man, and that the permanent interests and welfare of the white population equally with justice to the blacks, require that what can be done, shall be done.

There is another subject, not remotely connected with this question, and that is, the preservation of the Union. In any, and all aspects, now and forever, the interest of Kentucky does, and will coincide with her loyalty for preserving the Union as it is. Our most sagacious statesmen have all pointed to the slave boundary, as the most feasible and probable line of separation. Without the consent of Kentucky and Tennessee, that can never become the line of division. These two States are bound together by links which can never be severed. As the one goes so must the other. Remove Kentucky from her present attitude as a permanent member of any prospective slaveholding alliance, and the basis of any such scheme of separation is at once destroyed, and much added to the stability of the Union.

No reflecting man can well doubt, that sooner or later, Slavery will be extirpated in Kentucky. The cause of emancipation in the natural course of events is bound to gain strength. The disproportion between the non-slaveholders and the slaveholders is already in the ratio, at least, of four or five to one. The disproportion will be constantly on the increase. Is it not then, well worthy the consideration of the advocates of Slavery, whether they are ever likely to effect a better compromise than which they can now obtain, whether they will not make a good bargain, in obtaining a peaceable prolongation of the system for fifty years to come.

S. S. Nicholas,	*Pat. Maxcy,*	*D. L. Beatty,*
Reuben Dawson,	*Wm. P. Boon,*	*T. S. Bell,*
W. W. Worsley,	*Wm. Richardson,*	*Wm. E Glover,*
Bland Ballard,	*James Speed.*	

ELECTION OF ALLEN AND PALFREY.

The election of Charles Allen to Congress in the 5th or Worcester District is one of the happiest events, politically speaking, that has taken place in Massachusetts during the last quarter of a century. To attempt to describe its importance would require a long article. To comprehend its importance it is necessary to reflect upon what one bold, persevering man may accomplish, and this we may learn from the history and present position of Joshua R. Giddings. We saw Mr. G. a few years ago, struggling single-handed and alone against Slavery in all its forms. His efforts were derided and himself abused and contemned. He was denied his just rights and privileges as a member of Congress, and afterwards driven from that body. Now that same Mr. Giddings, by dint of hard labour, courage and the power of a just and righteous cause, stands at the head of a party in Congress not very large in numbers, but holding the balance of power between the two old corrupt Pro-Slavery parties, and strong enough in intellect, ability and argument to defy all the forces of the enemies of freedom. Thank heaven, Charles Allen—he who first announced, on the very spot of its immolation, the sacrifice and surrender of the Whig party—has been added to the number, and Palfrey is secured whether he triumphed at the late election or not.

Hudson unquestionably stood at the head of the Massachusetts Taylor delegation as a man and legislator. He is abler than Abbott, King, Rockwell, Hale, Grinnell; he is more honest and candid than Winthrop and Ashmun. His own speeches had taught his constituents the nature, character and power of Slavery. His own writings had taught them how wrong and unworthy it would be for them to submit to the nomination of Gen. Taylor. Yet in an evil hour he fell. The tempter overcame him and he is lost. It is well perhaps that an example so marked and conspicuous should be given, in order that politicians may be admonished of what the future has in store for those who turn traitor to the cause of freedom. Two of the great central districts of Massachusetts we now see are emancipated from the control of Boston. The people of the fourth and fifth districts no longer bow to the miserable dictation of the *Boston Atlas*. Let the Free-Soilers rejoice.—*Roxbury (Mass) Gazette.*

From the Suffolk Democrat.

"THE STY IN AN UPROAR."

A great commotion has occurred at Washington, the Capital of our Republic, because the House of Representatives instructed a committee to report a bill prohibiting the Slave-Trade in the District of Columbia. A motion was made to reconsider the vote, and an amendment proposed to prohibit slaves from being brought into the District for sale. As usual, the southern members, or rather some of them, convened, resolved, and for the fortieth time, threatened a dissolution of the Union.—And now, what is all this commotion about? It may not be generally known in the North that there are men; northern as well as southern—so debased and dead to humanity, as to make the Slave-Trade their business. They are the terror of the black race; and when they appear on a plantation, the negroes flee in alarm, and the planter's little children, shuddering, seek shelter at the mother's side. Although the planters may sometimes deal with them, they cordially despise them; and no matter how wealthy they may become, they are never respected nor admitted to the society of gentlemen. These marble-hearted traders have their depôts at Baltimore, Washington, &c. where the negroes purchased are imprisoned, sometimes in pens, and sometimes in dungeons, and kept till a sufficient number are collected to ship off to the South. Some of them are negroes who have committed crimes, and so far this trade makes a Botany Bay of every State to which they may be sent. Unfortunately, the trade is not confined to criminals. It happens in the South, as in the North, that young men squander their inheritance, and the old family slaves, the husband, the wife, the son, the daughter, not together, but one by one, fall into the trader's hands, are manacled and sent off to the depôt, to be scattered, some to one State, and some to another. Upon the death of masters, too, all the negroes on a plantation are sometimes sold to the highest bidder, and then comes the harvest of the slave trader.

It so happens, in latter years, that the Capital of our Republic has become the great slave market of the Union. Two pens are there prepared to receive the poor manacled wretches, brought from adjoining States to be sent to the South. And now we are told by a division of the chivalry of the South that, before this wretched traffic shall be abolished, not in any State—for over that Congress has no power—but in the Capital of our Union, that Union shall be dissolved. At the very moment when the South has its own President, now, and for four years from March next, to veto any bill which invades in the slightest degree the constitutional rights of that section—at the first movement to abolish these abominable slave pens of the Capital, a portion of the southern members convene, Gov. Metcalfe, of Kentucky, a Whig, is made President of the Convention, and Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, another Whig, Chairman of the Committee of one member from each slaveholding State to consider and report whether, if this abominable traffic and these horrid slave-pens are not perpetuated in the Capital of our model Republic, our glorious Union shall be dissolved!

It is not these miserable and disgraceful pens, nor any apprehension of northern interference with Slavery in the States, that causes all this excitement. Each division of party in the South is apprehensive lest the other should get the start in defending that institution. The master-spirit of the South has been for more than twenty years sounding the alarm; when no one knows better than he does that neither party in the North or West has ever desired, much less proposed to interfere, in any manner, with Slavery in the States; and that, in the recent contest, the three divisions of party in the Free States, while they determined to resist every attempt to extend Slavery to Free Territory, are each and all sacredly pledged to oppose any interference with Slavery where it exists. This question in the North and West, will never disturb the Union; for the Abolitionists, who go for such unconstitutional interference, are few and powerless.—But the true question, and that which causes all this excitement, is, the destiny of the Territories now, and hereafter to be, annexed to our confederacy.

It is the prospect of the loss of the balance of power. The Southern leader—the author of the modern theory, that society is in its happiest condition and government the most stable and benevolent, where labour is enslaved and the aristocracy govern—is anxious to extend this institution with our conquests. He is startled at the very idea of adding a Free State, and would hazard a war to annex a Slave State to our Union. This accounts, for his opposition to Oregon, and his hasty diplomacy in regard to Texas. "A masterly inactivity," or a little less haste, might have given us Texas, without war and conquest; for its annexation was inevitable. As soon as the war broke out, the distinguished southern leader began to perceive its unavoidable result and the consequences which were to follow from his own favourite measure—the conquest of Free Territory—the addition of Free States and their more rapid ascendency in the Senate. Seeing all this, he deprecated the war. He now sees New Mexico and California free, and determined to remain so; protected as they are by our Mexican treaty, which guarantees to their people all the rights and privileges of citizens of the United States. Still further South he sees Tamaulipas, New Leon—and with Macbeth he may well exclaim:

"Another yet? a seventh? I'll see no more:—
And yet the eighth appears, who bears a glass,
Which shows me many more—"

It is this vision which haunts the imagination of the immediate architect of Texas annexation, and causes all this excitement; and not the slave-pens nor any apprehension of Northern interference with Southern rights. The great question to be decided is, whether Mr. Calhoun shall, now and hereafter, cover all Mexico with his slave theory of government—whether he will succeed in enlisting the South in a crusade, to enforce this institution on New Mexico and California, in opposition to their laws and their remonstrances. Whether he is in triumph in forming a Southern party, to trample on the rights of a people, placed by the fortune of war, under our protection, and to revive the revolutionary doctrines of nullification, will depend, in some degree, on the wisdom, firmness and patriotism of Gen. Taylor. In the meantime, we congratulate the Whigs that their Southern friends are, with infinite simplicity, playing into Mr. Calhoun's hand, and immortalising themselves by taking the lead in the very sensible, humane and patriotic defence of the slave-pens of the Capital.

The following is a reply to the article signed "Clarkson," which we copied last week from the *Burlington (N. J.) Gazette*. Our acknowledgments are due to an unknown friend, "Benjamin Lay," for his kind notice of the Standard; and we rejoice that the cause has found, on the spot, so able and ready a defender.

To the Editor of the Burlington Gazette.

Mr. Atkinson—It appears by the last week's Gazette that some Pro-Slavery scribbler, under the assumed garb of a quaker, and the signature of "Clarkson," has taken great offence at a little paragraph published the week before in the Gazette, taken from the Anti-Slavery Standard, as follows:

"AN ESCAPE.—We have just heard of the escape from Slavery of a white girl, eighteen years of age, of uncommon beauty, the property of a clergyman at the South. When questioned as to her parentage, she did not deny that her owner was her father."

Clarkson then goes on to say that he "considered that thee had cut this from some paper without examination, in the hurry of making out copy; but yet I suppose that in clipping out an extract that was credited to *such a paper* as the Anti-Slavery Standard, for I could not suppose *thee would exchange with that paper*." Indeed! And what is this Anti-Slavery Standard, that our opponent prates so knowingly about? Is it some little obscure sheet, published in a stew or a rum hole; or is it the organ of some political clique; or is it a sectarian concern, devoted to the building up some creed or particular string of sectarian notions, that do not square up exactly with the preconceived notions imbibed by friend Clarkson? No—no such a thing. It is, as its name implies, an Anti-Slavery paper of the very first class, edited with great ability and truthfulness; and embraces probably more eminent contributors than any other weekly journal published in the United States, among which we may name the Channings, Sumners, Quinceys, Parkers, Lowells, Pillsburys, Jays, Wrights, with a host of others equally eminent, all men of talent and learning; of unspotted purity of life, and undoubted philanthropy.—These are the men, the production of whose minds our conscientious friend Clarkson *would not expect thee to exchange with*. Bah! Such stuff is sickening. The story, says Clarkson, is false, entirely false, manufactured out of whole cloth. Why, "they say the girl is white," and they make nobody slaves but niggers or blacks. Not so fast, friend Clarkson. Slavery has very little to do with colour, either in the *model Republic*, or in any other country where it is tolerated; and we know it has been declared by the chivalry of the South that all labourers are, and of right ought to be slaves—and the writer of this article heard a poor creature say, boastingly, that he had slaves whiter than he was himself. This boast was made in the old quaker city of Burlington, a short time since, by a man who is a pure Anglo-Saxon.

Clarkson knows as well as everybody else, that after they get the colour bleached out of the African by amalgamation with the whites, the females become very valuable, some of them bringing as high as four or five thousand dollars, to supply the *harems* of the nobility.—So much for the assertion that none are slaves but the blacks. Clarkson next goes on to say that those philanthropists should endeavour to convince the slaveholder of the wrongfulness of the practice, *but not through their slaves*. Now this charge is too contemptible to answer. I have heard the same charge made sometimes by some miserable demogogue of a politician in trying to work upon the prejudices and passions of a rabble, but never before have seen it in a respectable journal, and uttered, too, by at least a pretended Quaker. I am ashamed of thee, Clarkson.

Well, what next? Why, then "to *give it the colouring of the opinions promulgated by that paper*" (the Standard) by giving a side blow at religion, "she was the property of a clergyman." Poor Clarkson, I am afraid thee has *corns*; but if thee wants to know a little more of *this* religion, which thee appears to be so much interested about, I would advise thee to procure "The Church as it Is, by Parker Pillsbury," "The American Clergy, a Brotherhood of Thieves, by S. S. Foster," "A Thousand Witnesses, by Theodore Weld." "The American Church the Bulwark of Slavery, by Birney," and a number of other publications of like import, that are principally made up of reports of ecclesiastical bodies of members of the *peculiar* institution, and in many cases of both together; and if they don't prove an antidote against this bastard religion which you seem to venerate so much, you shall have another dose; this religion which will fraternize with a man thief, that will hug to its bosom this hydra headed unclean beast, Slavery.

What does the Rev. Albert Barnes say of the American church, a man of great moral worth and acknowledged piety—what does he say about Birney's assertion that "the American Church is the bulwark of Slavery." He says it is true, that without the consent of the Northern church Slavery could not live a year, and says Clarkson, "to give a colouring to the opinions promulgated by that paper by giving a side blow at religion;" may the Lord in his mercy deliver me from such a Religion, the slaveholder's religion, or his apologist, which is evidently the religion alluded to by Clarkson.

I do not wish to occupy much space in the Gazette, and undertook what I have done with much reluctance, not having time or ability to conduct a controversy either oral or written, neither is it congenial with my nature or feelings to wish to dispute about any thing; but when a Goliath comes forward and throws down the gauntlet, the avowed enemy of the defenders of the poorest of God's poor—for such are the conductors of the paper that Clarkson attempted to villify—I felt tempted to look for a "smooth stone," and if I have been unsuccessful in finding a *smooth one*, please set it down to luck, and not design. There is considerably more rhapsody and fustian in Clarkson's communication that I have not time or inclination at present to notice further than to remark that the declaration of his being an Abolitionist of the *Simon Pure stamp*, is an assertion made so often before by writers of his cast, that it is too stale to take at least, about Burlington.

My opponent has assumed the name of Clarkson, though it is enough to make the bones of the old sainted Philanthropist shake in his grave. I hope to be excused if I take that of a simple little devoted friend of the oppressed, wherever found.

BENJAMIN LAY.

Burlington, Jan. 11, 1849.

The *London Sun* of December 5th, in an article on the result of the recent Presidential election, speaks its mind of Brother Jonathan in plain terms as follows:

While the millions of the United States are emerging from the brief and bloodless battle for the Presidency, while they are looking forward with composure to the advent of a pacific Administrator like General Taylor, it is not surprising that some of the more reflective citizens of the Great Trans-Atlantic Democracy should begin to contrast the tranquility of the Western with the turbulence and distraction of the Eastern hemisphere. The difference of the condition of the American Continent and the European Continent in 1848 is too striking not to challenge observation, and the deduction derivable from that difference is too flattering to the political institution of the former not to excite the patriotism of its enthusiastic people. Light and darkness, crime and virtue, youth and decrepitude, trance and delirium, are not more opposite to each other, the whole range of history does not afford a more vivid antithesis than that which presents itself to us in the position of affairs in Europe on one hand, and in North America on another. Before, however, a dirge can be sung over the former, and a pæan chaunted over the latter; before unconditional praise can be bestowed on the one and unmitigated condemnation pronounced upon the other; before America can be eulogised (as it *has* been eulogised across the ocean), as containing the model nation and the model government; before Europe can be scouted (as it *has* been scouted from the same quarter) as an agglomeration of administrative baseness and popular depravity—some few facts, bearing rather intimately upon the ques-

tion at issue, should be candidly and studiously borne in recollection. Foremost among these is the circumstance, that while each of the continental races of Europe is striving individually to conquer its independence without encroaching upon any of their respective dominions, the model republic has been availing itself of the shallowest pretexts to aggrandize its own dominions by incursions upon the dominions of the contiguous countries. True it is that the despot of Prussia, screening himself under a masquerade of liberality, endeavoured, by force of arms, to rob the crown of Denmark of its hereditary appendage of Schleswig—true, again, that tyranny strove to trample out the germs of freedom sprouting up among the Posenase, the Lombards, and the Hungarians; but in each instance the cries of execration which resounded from the surrounding nations caused the crowned aggressors to desist in their unholy efforts at repression. With the model Republic of the United States it has been wholly otherwise. There the wiles of diplomatic chicane and the audacity of military expeditions have been sedulously directed to the acquisition of new provinces, to the subjugation of unoffending races, to the massacre of the patriots of Mexico, and to the desecration of the golden halls of the Montezumas.

While again French democracy has, even in the agony of her own struggles for existence, decreed the abolition of Slavery in all her possessions, American democracy clings with the tenacity of fanaticism to the bloody sway exercised over the negro population by her free and enlightened citizens! The Wilmot Proviso is as flagrantly repudiated by the legislators of the United States as ever were the local bonds of Illinois or Pennsylvania. It were well consequently, if the journalists of North America, before exulting so vain-gloriously over the virtues and eminence of the United States, when compared with the vices and degradation of Europe, would simply put two and two together and see whether or not they come to four. Stones of abuse hurled from glass-houses are liable to provoke reprisals; and marvellous, indeed does it appear to us, that while our Trans-Atlantic contemporaries are exulting over the pacific character of their republican institutions, the principal representative of that pacific policy is the very man who overran with his soldiers the mountains and savannahs of Mexico, and advanced with fire and sword from Monterey to the capital. Old Zachary is not the least anomaly, amongst all the huge and multifarious anomalies of the United States.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 18, 1849.

FIFTEENTH *NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY* BAZAAR.

It is with the most lively emotions of gratitude and satisfaction that we present to the friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause, some account of the Bazaar of 1848 and '49. It opened on the morning of Wednesday, December 21st, and continued till the evening of Saturday, December 30th. The total receipts were $3,300. We are not in the least discouraged or disheartened by the fact that this is a thousand dollars less than our receipts of last year. We do not for a moment allow that the zeal of the friends of Freedom, either at home or abroad, has slackened, or that the community in general have become more opposed or indifferent. We feel that there has never been greater occasion for fervent and grateful acknowledgements to our trans-Atlantic friends than at the present time. Their donations have been the result of their own earnest and deep rooted convictions of duty, their efforts in the collection of the same being unassisted by any eloquent personal appeal from American Abolitionists. In years that are past, many devoted friends of the slave, accustomed to the presentation of his cause, have travelled through the United Kingdom and by their facts and arguments, freshly aroused the old Anti-Slavery spirit, rendered half dormant by the extinction of West India oppression.

But this has not been the case during the past year. We deeply feel that the assistance thus extended, year after year, has its source in no transient emotion of mere compassion, but is derived from that stern sense of duty which is the only guaranty for any self-sacrificing and continuous effort.

The labours and endeavours of our home friends too, have been so generous and unwearied that not only have our hands been strengthened but our hearts cheered and invigorated. The number of real and uncompromising Abolitionists is few, but that few have been faithful.

Justice likewise requires that we should allude to those who visited the Bazaar merely in the character of lookers-on and purchasers. Kindness, good breeding, a friendly and cordial appreciation of the beautiful, are not, it is true, actual evidence of any love for the Slave, but they serve as real and acceptable help to those who are wearied with the toils and responsibilities of the occasion, and afford genuine ground of encouragement for the hope that our principles although in a very diluted and weakened state, may have permeated the whole community.

In all our visitors were the greatest friendliness and good will apparent. Owing to mishaps of steamers and delay of packets, and proverbial faithlessness of winds and waves, our beautiful articles from France did not arrive in season. This was to us a severer disappointment than it could have been to any one else, and our numerous visitants graciously acknowledged it as such, exclaiming as they looked upon the lavish abundance and elegance of our foreign tables, "I cannot tell what you could do with more."

Under circumstances so favourable, how then shall we account for our diminished receipts? Two causes, we think, will satisfactorily account for the diminution.—And first, the bad weather has been, in the history of Fairs, unprecedented. Since 1834, when the first Fair was held, we have never encountered weather so disagreeable and unfavourable. Of the whole ten days, but two could in any charity be considered fine, and on *one* of those the streets were nearly impassable. Rain gradually congealing into sleet, and snow softening into rain, formed the principal alternation of the whole ten days. This not merely diminished the number of city visitors, but very generally prevented the attendance of the country Abolitionists. Long planned sleighing parties were broken up; railroad routes being in some cases impeded, that mode of conveyance was rendered useless, and thus numbers were prevented from giving their usual annual attendance. On the days that could be called pleasant, the attendance was so good, as to afford ample evidence that to the weather alone our diminished receipts were owing.

And secondly, the absence from the country of four of our most efficient managers, could not but in some respects, affect us unfavourably. It is with the most grateful emotion that we return our thanks to such friends as generously came forward to give us their personal help on this occasion for the first time, and to those who, having helped us heretofore, laboured now, more strenuously than ever to supply the places of the absent. But it is unreasonable to suppose that much personal devotion to the cause, made valuable by the observation and experience of fifteen years, could be withdrawn from the direct service of the Bazaar, without producing some temporary inconvenience and loss.

It is cause for rejoicing that this inconvenience and loss need be but temporary. No teachings are so valuable as those that a spirit of love and self sacrifice produces. If we have thoroughly imbibed these teachings; we shall feel that every additional year will increase our power of wisely directing our labours and endeavours in such a manner as to secure the most beneficial results. We have thought it would prove encouraging to point out thus plainly the causes, to our apprehension of the diminished receipts. The first, being purely accidental, is, of course, no responsibility of ours, and will not be likely to occur again; not at least for fifteen years, and Heaven forfend at that period that Anti-Slavery Fairs should be needed. The second is not irremediable. It only teaches us to increase our own efforts, and appeal more earnestly for the help of all who have human hearts or living consciences. Some have spoken and written as if we had been injured by the Free Soil movement. We think not. Our gain in this respect has been quite equal to our loss. Undoubtedly some money has been absorbed by the Free Soil effort which might otherwise have been expended in the Bazaar, but the help and earnest and conscientious members of the party, convinces sympathy which we have received from some of the most us that they understand and appreciate the importance of the position that the American Anti-Slavery Society occupies.

Faneuil Hall was never more beautifully decorated than on this occasion. The general arrangement of the decorations was the same as those of last year, but many improvements were introduced by the friends who so kindly took this burden upon themselves, and who were, with one or two exceptions the same individuals to whom we were so greatly indebted for a similar service last year.

The demand for cedar, fir, pine, and other evergreens, was abundantly supplied by Messrs. William and Ebenezer Jenkins and Jonas Holt, of Andover, Mr. Levi D. Smith, of Stoneham, Mr. Reuben Weston, of Reading, Messrs. Shepherd and Allen, of Walpole, and by various contributors in smaller quantities from Worcester, Manchester, North Bridgewater and Abington, not forgetting to mention the running pine received from two little girls in Uxbridge, "who wished to do something for the help of the slave."

The materials for decoration, so lavishly given were employed and arranged in the tasteful and exquisite manner in which they afterwards greeted the eyes of the beholders, by Messrs. Wellington, Harwood, May, Quincy, Jacobs, Chapin, and Ewing, and Drs. Channing and Williams. To all the friends whose names have been enumerated we offer our warmest thanks, and feel that to them is owing much of the attractiveness and beauty of the Bazaar.

About the same number of the country towns of Massachusetts was represented as in previous years, the average of contributions being nearly the same. We regret that in one or two towns from which we have hitherto received beautiful tables, but little was sent this year. We impute it however to local causes and not to any diminution of interest, and rejoice to say that such deficiencies were supplied by increased labours in other places. Boston, Worcester, West Roxbury, Cambridge, Lynn, Plymouth, Dedham, Salem, Concord, Weymouth, West Brookfield, Hingham, Leominster, Leicester, Upton, Duxbury, Dorchester, Stoneham, Lancaster, Reading and Brookline, all declared by their works that their ardent faith in the principles of Freedom still continue vigorous and unabated. From many other towns too numerous to mention, individual donations and tokens of good will were received. For each one of these, however trifling or insignificant, we proffer thanks in the slave's behalf, trusting that every such endeavour will be increased ten-fold by another year.

From Glasgow, Edinburgh, Perth, Kirkcaldy, Leeds, Bristol, Bridgewater, Dublin and Cork we received the same large and valuable donations which have in previous years attracted from the indifferent and uninterested so much of attention and admiration, and which must ever excite in the heart of every friend of the slave the liveliest emotions of respect and gratitude.

At our foreign tables the question is constantly put, "Are all these beautiful things *gifts?*" and when assured that they are all a free will offering on the altar of humanity, we cannot but hope that such proofs of sympathy on the part of those whose motive to exertion arises only in their sense of the brotherhood of the human race, may ultimately succeed in awakening the consciences of the enquirers to the claims of a duty far more imperative on *them* as Americans, the slave's countrymen and with scarcely an exception, the responsible abettors of his oppression. The fact of our receiving no assistance from Rochdale from whence many beautiful articles were sent a year since, is very kindly explained by the following communication:

ROCHDALE, Dec. 4, 1848.

Esther Bright, the Secretary of the Rochdale Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, begs to inform the Ladies' Committee at Boston, that owing to the extremely depressed state of trade in the Lancashire Districts, particularly since last year, the ladies who worked a year ago for the Bazaar have felt themselves quite unable to furnish a box of articles for the same object during this year. They nevertheless hope that in the course of *another* year, should the commercial world regain its wonted characteristics, they will be able again to be actively employed in aiding on in their small way the good cause of Freedom to the slave. E. B. hopes that as some efforts may have been made since last year in entirely new localities, that the mite sent from Rochdale last year will not be missed at the forthcoming Bazaar, of whose success the Rochdale Committee will be glad to hear."

Beside the various places enumerated, we feel it a pleasure to refer to many valuable donations from individual friends. Elizabeth Pease, of Darlington, the Misses Hilditch, of Wrexham, and the Misses Cogan, of Walthamstow, Essex, and Mary Worsdel, of Crewe, Cheshire, will please accept our most grateful acknowledgements. Undoubtedly in the great haste incidental to the arrival and arrangement of articles, the names of many valuable contributors may have been overlooked, but we beg each to believe that her labour of love has been most thankfully appreciated by those, who like ourselves are striving from year to year in the midst of indifference and hostility. The most trifling gift becomes valuable in view of the motive that prompted its bestowal.

The Glasgow Table was placed as in former years, at the head of the hall, just below the Rostrum, and as usual the beautiful Baby's Cloaks and Bonnets, the Shawls and Cushion and scores of other articles of use or beauty attracted great attention. On the right of the Rostrum was placed the Edinburgh and Kirkaldy Table, and on the left the Book Table. Almost all the articles on the Edinburgh Table were of a very saleable character, and well suited to the occasion. A very elegant Cushion of 26 different patterns, wrought by 12 different hands, was greatly admired. The Kirkaldy Shawls were highly acceptable.

The receipts at the Book Table were unusually large, a circumstance to be imputed in part to the very valuable donation by our Dublin friends from De La Rue's establishment. So beautiful and well chosen an assortment was never before presented to the Boston public. The very beautiful water colour drawings by Miss Carpenter, Mrs. Herbert Thomas, and Mrs. Rickards, and the chalk drawings from Lady Byron, an exquisite bust of Elizabeth Fry, the gift of E. Pease, Books of British Lichens, Ferns and Mosses, Splendid China, rare Autographs; and particularly the beautiful Sea Mosses from Ireland, united in drawing throngs of purchasers to this Table. Our Irish friends will be happy to learn that not more than three or four mosses remain unsold. Over the Book Table was placed a Portrait in crayons, of Mr. Garrison, drawn by Mrs. Hildreth, and presented by her to the Bazaar. It was admirably executed, and thought by many of his friends to be the most faithful resemblance that has yet been obtained. It was purchased by a number of the Abolitionists for presentation to Andrew Patton and family, "in sense of grateful appreciation of their services in behalf of the Anti-Slavery Cause."

We could wish to dwell at some length on the tables from Perth, Bridgewater, Leeds, Cork and Dublin. But our space forbids, and we must comprise much in few words. The articles from all these places were to an unusual extent, both useful and beautiful. It was a general remark that the Bazaar had never before contained so little that was poor and valueless.

We cannot omit all mention, however, of the very magnificent Table Cover and Honiton Lace from Mrs. and the Misses Lupton, of Leeds. They were exceedingly admired. Donations from Dundee were found at the Perth Table. Two dolls from Perth, clothed in Highland costume, had the following poetical labels affixed:

Question.

Is Freedom's home halls only where
The labourer wears an iron fetter?
Are her's the sons that do not dare
To teach or learn a printed letter?
Are they her champions whose vows
Are pledged to aid the tyrants halter?
Who plead for wrong with pious words,
Are they the Priests at Freedom's altar?

Answer.

No! Freedom's home is only built
Where men are as their maker made men,
Where punishment is saved for guilt,
And crime is all that can degrade men:
That home be ours though tyrants should
In madness dare from us to sunder,
We'll take our chances with the good,
And let their throats and cannon thunder.

Nothing was more saleable at the Bristol Table than the pretty basket work made at the Blind Asylum. One of the prettiest articles was purchased as a gift for Laura Bridgman. We heard the other day of her making inquiry of a gentleman who visited the Massachusetts Blind Asylum, if he were a Free Soil man, and we therefore conclude the gift will possess in her eyes a threefold value.

The Bristol Album and Scrap Book were examined with much eager interest. Some neatly made articles from the St. James's Ragged School, Bristol, afforded us peculiar pleasure. The poorest of the poor are in a condition to pity the American Slave.

We received this year our first donation from Nova Scotia, in the shape of an Indian Wigwam, constructed after the original model with scrupulous fidelity. This, together with sundry canoes and Indian figures, by which it was accompanied, lent great attraction to the Toy Table.

We are greatly obliged to Edward M. Davis, of Philadelphia for a gift of French baskets. They were particularly acceptable, as any kind of basket work suits the taste of the Boston community. For the same reason we were very thankful for the generous donation of Sophia and Charlotte Gilman, of Raynham, Massachusetts.—Special acknowledgments are due also to Mr. E. B. Kenrick, of Cambridgeport, for his books of beautiful dried Forest Leaves, to the Ladies' Garrisonian Anti-Slavery Society, of Austinburgh, Ashtabula county, Ohio, for a most excellent Cheese weighing 197 lbs, and which sold at a very early day, to some anonymous friend in North Bridgewater; for a cheese accompanied by a poetical inscription which has been unfortunately mislaid; and to Mr. Edmund Jackson for 50 Boxes of excellent Soap.—We are also greatly indebted to Messrs. Collamore & Co. 98 Washington street, for their generous loan of the large quantity of China necessary for the use of the Bazaar. We would also thank Mr. Marjoram for his aid to the Refreshment Table, and to Messrs. Clark and Co. for a supply of Ice Cream.

From Concord, Danbury, Amherst and Weare, New Hampshire, we received articles of a very useful and saleable character. We hope that donations of this sort may increase, as one class of our purchasers invariably prefer such, to articles of a more familiar and ornamental description.

Our space will not allow us to enumerate many articles which we should like to mention, but as we were kindly presented with specimens of several new inventions, we feel it to be a duty to particularize the most important. Whitaker's Miniature Solar Lamp, Cheever's Fire Kindling, Mrs. Cook's Chinese Polishing Iron, and Bliss's Rotary Chopping Machine, have been tried and approved by various friends of the Bazaar.

The Liberty Bell was published as usual on the first morning of the Fair, and contains many articles of much excellence and beauty. We regret that several communications of great merit arrived too late for insertion.

On the last seven evenings of the Bazaar very interesting and elegant remarks were offered by Messrs. Garrison, Bowditch, Pillsbury, Channing, Clarke, Prince, May, Quincy, Wright, Mrs. Foster and Stone. We regretted that the state of the weather should have made attendance in the evening peculiarly inconvenient, and thus deprived so many of opportunities which we know are highly prized.

We have finished our brief and very imperfect sketch of the Bazaar of 1848 and '49. As we write, we painfully feel the insufficient manner in which we have endeavoured to fill a post that other duties have for the time left vacant. Fortunately strength and ability form the limit of every duty, and when conscientiously tested, should alike prevent hesitation and anxiety.

It has been suggested by a correspondent abroad that we should point out the necessity that creates the existence of the Bazaar, and some of the changes that it has been enabled to produce. We can only say that on this instrumentality the American Anti-Slavery Society especially relies for a portion of the funds by which it carries forward the fearfully important undertaking of changing the hearts and enlightening the consciences of seventeen millions of people, as regards a question touching which, they were till within the last eighteen years even as the people of Nineveh, not knowing their right hand from their left. That this is not now the case, that the whole country is thoroughly aroused, that old parties are broken up, churches shaken and severed, Congress thoroughly convulsed with discussion, newspapers, secular and religious, of every shade of opinion, ringing with controversy, a great Northern party beginning to form, basing itself not on those paltry and mercenary considerations that have hitherto shaped politics, but assuming as its foundation the great question of Human Rights—that all this is passing before our eyes we may thank the earnest, uncompromising utterance of the truth by the American Anti-Slavery Society and its auxiliaries. The same decided utterance is still called for. This body, few in number, weak in worldly influence, destitute of pecuniary ability, hated as the depository of the most unpopular truth that could be presented to a nation like ours, namely the identity and equality of the human family, this despised and calumniated body is yet the only one that knows and utters the whole truth "Without Concealment—Without Compromise." It enunciates *absolute* truth, and calls for *entire* justice, allowing no man to tolerate crime or palter with oppression even for an hour. It denies the name of Christian to that Church that sanctions or connives at Human Slavery. It scorns and loathes a compact by which a fugitive slave is returned to bondage, and strong men pledge themselves to turn cowardly weapons against the weak and helpless whom oppression shall have goaded to madness.

These are the doctrines which the American Anti-Slavery Society promulgates. It is the privilege of the National Bazaar to aid it in this good work, and this mode of assistance will not be, we trust, abandoned, till a more efficient and excellent manner of producing the same or greater results, shall have been devised.

This Annual Festival has many collateral benefits at which we can only glance. It exerts a most fortunate influence in opposition to the unmanly and unchristian prejudice against colour which obtains so widely even in this city, where, from its educational and literary pretensions, less ignorance and barbarism might have been reasonably expected. But it is not so. Church, theatre, concert room, literary lectures, social gatherings, all alike exclude people of colour, and the Anti-Slavery Bazaar is almost the only public place where this unfortunate class are not subject to insult or abuse.

The Bazaar also affords opportunity for Abolitionists from all parts of the country to exchange counsels and congratulations. Without the formality of appointed meetings, it furnishes occasion for that mutual concert and coöperation of effort which is of the highest importance to a cause like ours, relying so little on popular favour, and deprived so generally of the instrumentalities that customarily aid a work of philanthropic effort.

It is these and similar considerations that render our pecuniary profit but one among many of the important benefits that the Bazaar secures. In view of the great amount of toil and responsibility incident to this particular effort, we should call all these circumstances to mind, that we may be impelled to "that patient *continuance* in well doing," which frail humanity finds in general so difficult. Looking back to the commencement of the Anti-Slavery enterprise is it too much to say that if all who had ever "named its name" were now labouring for its success with the zeal that attended their "first works" the hour of the final extinction of American Slavery would be even at the door?

Recall the names of all who were ever the avowed advocates of the slave;—we speak not now of those—"Hallowed and guarded from all chains by death." *Their* works do follow them; but recall the names of those who have excused themselves from this service and gone to their farms and their merchandise, and say if that eloquence, and labour, and fidelity, and self-devotion that once wrought such miracles had been continued to the present time, what had now been the slave's condition? Who can say it might not have been that of the Freeman?

We do not assume to judge in cases of individual duty. Those who were once so zealous in this behalf, so earnest in stirring up the minds of others, and now, as far as all active labours go, so unconcerned and indifferent, are responsible, not to us, but to their own consciences.—The slave's condition is the same as when they first felt it so deeply; they can best judge why their action has ceased.

But we do know the general truth, corroborated alike by the voice of Inspiration and the testimony of mankind, that Fidelity, Firmness, Perseverance, are essential requisites to the success of any cause, to the perfection of any character.

"No man putting his hand to the plough and looking back is fit for the kingdom of God."

"If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him."

Calling to mind these and similar admonitions, may every Abolitionist go joyfully forward in the arduous path on which he has entered, thankfully remembering that his responsibility is confined to the emotions of a single heart, the action of a single hand, and that the mighty question of success or defeat is reserved to a higher decision.

A. W. WESTON.

Money received by A. W. Weston for the Liberty Bell and the general purposes of the Bazaar. 1848–'49.

H. and C. Sargent,	5 00
A. T. G. Phillips,	5 00
Mrs. Parks,	2 00
Sarah B. Shaw,	10 00
Mary G. Chapman,	5 00
Amos Farnsworth,	15 00
Mrs. C. Bramhall,	5 00
Daniel Ricketson,	5 00
Edmund Jackson,	20 00
Nathan Johnson,	5 00
Mr. North, by H. Sargent,	3 00
John M. Fiske,	5 00
Edward M. Davis,	30 00
Mrs. Ellis Gray Loring,	10 00
Lucia Russell,	5 00
Edmund Taber,	5 00
Edmund L. Benzon,	20 00
W. I. Bowditch,	1 00
W. C. Taber,	5 00
George R. Russell,	10 00
Isaac Osgood,	3 00
Anne Pomroy,	3 00
Frances Mary Robbins,	5 00
Walter Farnsworth,	10 00
Nathaniel Barney,	10 00
William Eddy,	5 00
Abiel Chandler,	8 00
D. and C. Joy,	5 00
Marcus Spring,	10 00
Joseph Congdon,	5 00
West Brookfield A. S. Sewing Circle,	25 00
Richard Clapp,	5 00
Joel Smith,	50
Sarah Gates,	50
Stoneham A. S. Society,	14 00
William E. Coffin,	5 00
Mrs. Nancy Babcock, Berlin,	10 00
Misses Andrews, Newburyport,	6 00
Friends in Lancaster, by Mrs. Hastings,	83
Mrs. Geo. Dighton, Newland, Gloucestershire, England,	£1,1,0
Mrs. G. H. Ames, Bristol, England,	£1,0,0

Parcels received in the Bazaar Boxes and forwarded.

For F. DOUGLASS.—1 large parcel (with "Peace" Seals); 1 parcel (paper box) "Frederick Douglass," Boston; 1 do "Tracts for F. Douglass, from H. Armour;" 1 do Frederick Douglass, Rochester, New York;" 1 do (small) Mrs. Frederick Douglass."

From Perth, A. FENWICK.—2 little parcels "to the girls who nobly volunteered to sit beside Rosetta Douglass."

W. L. GARRISON.—1 parcel (from Miss Pease); 1 do; 1 parcel for Mrs. Garrison, from Edinburgh; 1 box from Newcastle, to W. L. Garrison's children; 1 Letter.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.—2 parcels secured together.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.—1 parcel from Jane Wigham, Edinburgh; 1 box from Newcastle on Tyne; 1 letter.

SAMUEL MAY, jr.—1 parcel from J. B. Esther, Bristol; 1 do tracts from auction, Glasgow.

ADIN BALLOU.—1 small parcel, (Book).

DR. JOHN WARE. Cambridge.—1 parcel.

Rev. E. W. STOKES. Providence, R. I.—1 small packet.

FROM BRIDGEWATER.

F. DOUGLASS.—1 letter.

S. MAY, Jr.—1 letter.

CAPTAIN DRAYTON.—1 package.

FROM CORK.

F. DOUGLASS—1 letter; 1 small package for Mrs. Douglass; 1 small package for Mrs. Edward Spring; 1 small package for H. C. Wright, 1 letter for J. N. Buffum.

FROM BRISTOL.

Package for Rev. R. C. Waterston; Letter for F. Douglass, enclosing money.

Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton.

NO. V.

The remainder of the year 1823 was not passed in inactivity by the Anti Slavery party, though the question was at rest so far as Parliament was concerned, till the effect in the West Indies of the action in May could be ascertained. That interference with the peculiar institution of the colonists was received by them with the most lively indignation. The bitterest hatred against Mr. Buxton and the Abolitionists was excited; the Government and the ministry was denounced with the most violent abuse, and even the disruption of the colonies from the rule of the mother-country threatened; and the innocent missionaries, whose only crime was that they ventured to instruct the negroes in religious truths, were persecuted, imprisoned, or driven from the Islands. The Colonial Legislatures refused to accede to the recommendation of the Government. But the slave population received some intelligence of the movement, and believed that the "Great King of England" had set them free, but that the planters refused obedience to the edict. In Demerara, and Jamaica on several plantations, they refused to work, and resisted the attempt, in some cases, by force of arms, to compel them to return to their ordinary condition.—The insurrections, however, were speedily repressed. Martial law was proclaimed, and the slaves without discipline among themselves, and without leaders, forming, in short, only an unarmed and ignorant mob, were reduced to subjection, without the sacrifice of the life of a single white man, though hundreds of their own numbers were shot, hanged, or tortured to death under the whip.

The case of Smith, an Independent Missionary, was one of peculiar hardship. He was tried and condemned almost without the form of law, and without a shadow of evidence of any guilty act or intention, by the exasperated slaveholders, who, ascribing the love of liberty in their slaves to religious instruction, were determined, at all hazards, to repress what they considered and denounced as, [and as it always must be in every flourishing slave community] "a nuisance." He was tried before a Court Martial, and condemned to be hanged, but his already feeble health, aggravated by the hardships of a dungeon, sunk so rapidly that he fortunately died soon enough to anticipate the hangman. His executioners, with the thrift of the hangman—who is careful of the clothes of his victim, which are the perquisites of his office,—compelled him to draw a bill upon the London Missionary Society to defray the expenses of his trial. The Secretary of that Society, many years afterward, meeting with this bill among some old papers, observed written upon one corner of it in a minute hand, the following reference "2 Cor. iv. 8, 9"; where are the remarkable words, indicating the cheerful and hopeful spirit of a martyr:—"We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair. Persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down but not destroyed." Of this worthy man, and of the influence he exerted over the slaves in his immediate neighbourhood, Mr. (now Lord) Brougham said in a speech in Parliament two years later:

"The slaves inflamed by false hopes of freedom; agitated by remorse, and irritated by the suspense and ignorance in which they were kept; exasperated by ancient as well as more recent wrongs, (for a sale of fifty or sixty of them had just been announced, and they were about to be violently separated and dispersed,) were satisfied with combining not to work, and thus making their managers repair to the town to ascertain the precise nature of the boon reported to have arrived from England. The calumniated minister had so far humanised his poor flock,—his dangerous preaching had so enlightened them,—the lessons of himself and his hated brethren had sunk so deep in their minds, that by the testimony of the clergymen, and even of the overseers, the maxims of the Gospel of Peace were upon their lips in the midst of rebellion, and restrained their hands when no other force was present to resist them. 'We will take no life,' said they, 'for our pastors have taught us not to take that which we cannot give'—a memorable peculiarity to be found in no other instance of negro warfare, and which drew from the truly pious minister of the Established Church the exclamation, 'that he shuddered to write that the planters were seeking the life of a man whose teaching had saved theirs.'"

When the news of the excitement among the slaveholders, and the revolt of their slaves reached England, the people forgot how gentle were the measures proposed by Mr. Buxton, and adopted by the Government, but denounced the Abolitionists as disturbers of the peace of the Colonies, and poured out upon them the full measure of popular indignation. The timid and the lukewarm abandoned a cause, the difficulties of which their fears magnified, and their want of courage increased. The enemies of freedom gained new heart by the popular sympathy; but the old and sturdy advocates of the rights of man, who, for thirty years had combated, in the movement against the Foreign Slave Trade, the arguments and measures from which the modern upholders of Slavery in the United States learned their lesson, but which the opponents of Emancipation in '23 did not venture to use, were neither idle nor discouraged. Wilberforce was ever ready with his counsel and countenance; Clarkson took the field as a lecturer, and appealed directly, and not without success to the humanity of the British people; the Sturges, the Gurneys, and the handful of the tried and true of men and women who knew that success in such a cause depended not upon numbers, were busy each in their sphere; and Macaulay, the quiet, the modest, the indefatigable Macaulay, who, almost unknown to the public, yet did, perhaps, more than any other one man to shape and direct the movement, and to bring it to its final successful issue, worked on hopefully and unseen in the obscure office in Aldermanbury, upon his Reporter, crowding it with facts, and filling it with arguments,* which silently, but not the less certainly worked a revolution in the minds of those whom it was necessary to convert. "Here I am," writes Mr. Buxton to him in January '24, "and have had the satisfaction of finding Wilberforce in good health. He seems by no means discouraged about our cause. Clarkson appears to have done his work well. At Norwich our friends were somewhat intimidated; but he had a meeting there, which revived all their ardour. . . . . . I have been hard at work reading, and making extracts from all the Parliamentary slave papers. I am forming a dictionary, in which I insert information under different heads; I call it 'My Macaulay.'" Referring to the Demerara insurrection, and the popular allegation that the Abolitionists were responsible for it, he says in a letter to his wife "I am in excellent spirits, and hold my head very high in the matter, and mean to be bold in my defence. I expect to see Canning to-morrow; he seems very cold to me, and report is, he will join the West Indians. If he does, we shall go to war with him in earnest." A few days later he writes; "We have had a very unsatisfactory interview with Canning. . . . . The Government mean to *forfeit their pledge*, and to do next to nothing." In a letter to a friend two or three days afterward, he speaks in a somewhat less hopeful tone. "The degree, I will not call it, of opposition, but violence, against me is quite surprising. I much question whether there is a more unpopular individual than myself in the House just at this moment. For this I do not care. . . . . The Slavery question looks wretchedly. I begin to think that, opposed as we are by the West Indians, deserted by Government, and deemed enthusiasts by the public, we shall be able to do little or nothing; however, I rejoice that we have tried." "We had," he further writes to Mrs. Buxton, "a very bustling day on Saturday; a meeting with Canning at 12 o'clock, in which he told us that the Government had determined *to yield to the West Indian clamour, and do nothing except in Trinidad*, where there is no Colonial Assembly. There they will do everything they promised last year. This timidity is very painful. It frustrates all our hopes, and it will enable the West Indians to say, that we are wild, enthusiastic people, and that the people of England ought to be guided by the sober discretion of Government—which sober discretion is downright timidity."

The determination of the Government to secede from the position it had assumed the year before, was at length formally announced in the House by Mr. Canning. The ministry had previously declined acting upon a new plan, offered by Mr. Buxton, by which he proposed that all children, under seven years of age, should be emancipated; their education and maintenance to be undertaken by the Government till they reached the age of seven years, when they should be apprenticed for a certain period to their masters, who were moreover to be compensated for loss of their services as slaves. The Abolitionists, however, did not permit themselves to be discouraged, except for the moment, because the Government was faithless and frightened. They attacked the ministry with vigour on the announcement by Mr. Canning, that nothing more stringent than "admonition" would be resorted to with any of the colonies, excepting Trinidad. Mr. Buxton called the attention of the House to the resolutions of the year before, which he declared to be "a distinct pledge given by Government that the condition of the slave population should be ameliorated," and referring to the declaration, made in the debate on that occasion, that the refusal of the colonies to listen to the recommendations of Parliament would be met by authority, he said:

Now if this full and comprehensive pledge, this engagement given as to *all* the colonies, is to be frittered down, at present, at least, to a *single* island; if the assurances promised are to be granted indeed, to the 30,000 slaves in Trinidad; but withheld from the 350,000 in Jamaica, and the 70,000 in Barbadoes; if the *earliest period*, is to be construed to mean some time, so undefined and distant, that no man can say in what century it will take place; if our pledge to do this, is now to mean no more than that we will suffer it to be done, by the slow and gradual course of admonition and example; then, I see no reason why ten centuries may not elapse, before the negroes are freed from their present state of melancholy and deplorable thraldom. We, who have engaged in the cause, we, at least, will be no parties to such a desertion of duty, to such a breach of faith.

"I well know," he added, "the difficult situation in which I stand. No man is more aware than I am of my inability to follow the brilliant and able speech which has just been delivered. (Mr. Canning's.) But I have a duty to perform, and will perform it. I know well what I incur by this. I know how I call down upon myself the violent animosity of an exasperated and powerful party. I know how reproaches have rung in my ears since that pledge was given, and how they will ring with two-fold fury now that I call for its fulfilment. Let them ring! I will not purchase for myself a base indemnity, with such a sting as this on my conscience: 'You ventured to agitate the question; a pledge was obtained; you were, therefore, to be considered the holder of that pledge, to which the hopes of half a million of people were linked. And then, fearful of a little unpopularity, and confounded by the dazzling eloquence of the Right Hon. gentleman, you sat still, you hold your

*"When any of Mr. Macaulay's Anti Slavery friends wanted information, they used to say, 'Well we will look it out in Macaulay,' and rarely were they disappointed in their reference to him."—(*Buxton's Memoirs.*)

the evils inseparably attendant upon a state of Slavery, but that it was inexpedient to impeach the action which led to the death, by public execution, of the unfortunate negroes.

Our Southren Brethren.

The inconsistencies of men, especially those which have their origin in self-interest, have always afforded a favourite theme for the satirist, and as long as the world lasts he will hardly be at a loss for a fresh text from this longest chapter of human absurdity. But there is one variety of human inconsistency so regular in its operations that we are almost inclined to seek for its causes in some climatic or physiological peculiarity. We refer to the change which the air of Washington produces in Northern members of Congress.

At home these gentlemen are almost tedious in their eloquent advocacy of the dignity of labour. Their one idea would seem to be that the hard-handed democracy is the bone and sinew of the commonwealth. They may be for or against the tariff, the bank, or the subtreasury, but they are unanimous in their devotion to the cause of the workingman. This is all very fine, and their glowing and generous sentiments find a response in every heart.—But who, after all, is included in the term workingman? What is the implement the use of which confers such nobility upon the hand that wields it? Is it the axe, the hoe, the hammer, or the plough? This matter is made clear to us after the arrival of eloquent and philanthropic gentlemen at Washington. It is not the daily handling of any, or all, of the tools we have mentioned that entitles one to these fine candidatial sympathies. A man's palms may be as hard as iron and his back may be crooked with constant toil, and yet he may neither be truly a hardhanded democrat, nor a bone and sinew, nor have any claim whatever to the oratorical dignities resulting from labour. It is the ability to use a ballot which admits him to the freedom of the guild.

But in truth so many pitiable objects present themselves to the eyes of Honourable Members on their arrival at Washington that their sympathies are necessarily diverted into other channels. It is no longer the "toiling millions" who claim their tender and respectful regard. It is now "our brethren of the South" who absorb their interest, and call into active operation all the finer feelings, and all the active benevolence of their natures. Who are these newly-discovered brethren of ours, these objects of so devoted and sublime a charity?

At this distance, our too sensitive hearts still throbbing with tumultuous motions called up by contemplating the dignity of labour, we are apt to fall into a very natural mistake. We have heard of labourers at the South, and taking it for granted in our simplicity that, if a necessary nobility attaches itself to the man who toils for wages, some yet higher and inconceivable grandeur must belong to him who toils for nothing, we imagine that it is among these Southern workers that we are to look for relatives so near and dear.

This is an entirely erroneous view of the subject, and a little reflection will convince us that it is equally an unphilosophical one. Whether or no we are right in surmising that it is the power of voting which raises the Northern labourer to so high a level of humanity, it is quite certain that a man whose mere calling involves so much dignity and attracts so much respectful consideration, stands in need of nothing else. It is the person who does not work, whose hands are soft, who suffers the lifelong misery and disgrace of idleness, and is thus excluded from the privileged classes, who is the proper object of our pity. It is unfortunates of this sort who make the hearts of northern representatives bleed. It would be sheer arrogance in them to put forward a claim of kindred with those nature's noblemen who drudge on the cotton fields and in the riceswamps.

Christianity involves us in an inconveniently large family connexion. According to that system we are all children of a common father, and, if we make any distinction of fraternity it is to be in favour of our unhappy brother fallen among thieves. Three millions of such we have at the South. But the congressional method simplifies matters amazingly, and reduces "our Southren brethren" to a bare two hundred and fifty thousand or so. The descendents of Ham are decided to be children of an uncommon father, and therefore no relatives of ours.

But it is not in the New Testament that our legislators look to find their relatives. Their family register is not inscribed even on those blank pages between the old law and the new which we might suppose to be the only portion of the Holy Volume to which they had devoted any especial attention. It is the Constitution which settles all these tangled questions of consanguinity. This is our new Dispensation abrogating the old, our new tariff of social and moral duties. This teaches us who are really our "Southern Brethren."

It was a happy discovery this of defining the limits of human brotherhood by degrees of longitude. By means of a globe an American child can be very rapidly instructed in the simple elements of geographical humanity. East, West, and North our sympathies are allowed an indefinite expension. The safety-valves of our benevolence open toward these three quarters of the Earth.—A convenient *Manual of Ethics calculated from the meridian of Washington* might be added to the course of instruction in our common schools. Thus, we may sympathize keenly with oppressed Ireland and the downtrodden masses of Europe. Our detestation of tyrants may grow fervent in the precise ratio of their easterly distance. We may contribute largely and meritoriously to rescue the souls of Hindoos from Satan, and the soles of Nestorian Christians from the Mahometan bastinado. We may join societies for promoting the phrenological development of the Flathead Indians, or for supplying the Laplanders with pure olive oil. In all these directions we may lawfully pray

"That come it may,
And come it will for a' that,
When man to man, the warld o'er
Shall brithers be."

But, turning Southward, our humanity gradually contracts itself, embraces fewer and fewer objects, and probably comes to a point somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Emperor of Brazil.

It has been a matter of controversy whether the New Testament should be one of the books read by the pupils in our public schools. As one chief object of these institutions is to fit the youth of our country for their duties and responsibilities as American citizens, we cannot but think that the habitual perusal of such a book would be likely to produce mental confusion and be the cause of error in after life. Some such cause as this may be charitably assigned for the divergencies of such men as Giddings and Palfrey from the strict line of American patriotism and religious obligation.

Or is it barely possible, after all, that Jesus Christ may be right and the glorious framers of our Constitution wrong? Ought we in truth to embrace with the arms of our brotherhood not John C. Calhoun or Zachary Taylor, but the living, suffering, hoping, and despairing property of those eminent Southern Brethren? Is it the brother fallen among thieves and not the thieves them selves who are to be the recipients of our pity and our help? Can it be that the eye of a politician too long fixed in rapturous contemplation upon the image of liberty stamped on the coin of our country, is thereby unfitted for decyphering the lineaments, now dim and obscure, of the Almighty Father, impressed upon three millions of his duskier children?

These questions have suggested themselves with more or less distinctness to a considerable number of men and women. If America be, as Fourth of July orators assert, the new Eden of the world, these persons have imagined that they heard in the garden that dreadful voice which demanded of Cain—*where is thy brother?* The signs of the times seem favourable to this little company. The great onward movement of humanity fights for them. The progress of events is their most eloquent lecturer and propagandist. The human heart is ever busy making them converts. They have only to continue firm in that belief expressed by Dryden, that

——"there is a necessity in Fate
Whereby the bold brave man is fortunate."

J. A. L.

CONGRESS.—Congress has yet done nothing but talk, which, considering its choice of subject is the best thing it possibly could do. We hold that the session thus far, inasmuch as it has been spent in discussing the question of Slavery, is, on the whole, rather the most profitable one that has occurred for years. It has done something towards bringing affairs to a crisis. The formation of the Southern Committee, is in itself a great step gained. According to the letter writers at Washington, that will probably end in talk—*vox et preterea nihil*—as all Southern threats are if the North only knew it, and could get over her trick of being frightened. And this very meeting may do much to cure her. If the South ever means to do anything it is her time now. If she falters at the outset will she stand steady at the shock? And if she trembles and falls back, the North will advance, and Slavery will get abolished in good time, or the Union dissolved. It will be quite another sort of *vox* then—the *vox adhæsit faucibus*—with the South, when the North begins to threaten disunion.

Besides a debate on Mr. Gott's Resolutions, a pretty full report of which we give in another column, much of the time of the House, during the last few days, has been taken up with the Pacheco case. The debate has been long, warm, and sometimes intemperate on the part of Southern members, cool and argumentative on the part of the North; but we have seen no good report of it. Mr. Giddings and Mr. Palfrey both asserted and defended ably and successfully the heresy of no property in man. We give some portion of the debate. The question is not yet settled.

The attentive reader will observe how cunningly that artful dodger, Mr. Speaker Winthrop, got rid of giving his casting vote on this question. A mistake was announced and corrected, and the announcement reversed again, so that finally it appeared the vote stood 89 to 90—rejecting the bill. It was a trying position for Mr. Speaker, but he was equal to the occasion. No doubt, North and South both thought they had him where he must show his colours; but he said to the House,—if I vote in favour of the bill it will still be a tie, and therefore the bill will be lost, or if I vote against it, it will only be defeated, which it is already. As I cannot change the result I shall not vote at all! The only fear his friends need have is that he was a little too cunning, and that the North may sometime come to that humour, which the South has indulged in so long, of liking that men should have opinions, and dare to express them, on great subjects, even though they defeat or pass no bills.

We are forcibly reminded by Mr. Speaker's course of the fable told by Æsop or somebody else. The King of the forest lie sick, and in a very petulent frame of mind, for he did not like to be ill, or he thought so. So he called the hog and told him to smell of his breath, and tell him if it was offensive. The simple hog said yes; whereupon his majesty knocked him down for his incivility. And then he called the jackass and asked him the same question, and he thinking to gain favour, at any rate not to offend, said no; whereupon the King knocked him down for lying. At last the lion called the fox, and breathing in his face made the same inquiry. "Ah! sire," said Reynard, demurely, and with a sniffle, "I have a shocking bad cold in my head, and am not able to smell anything!"

HONOURABLE CONDUCT OF NEW YORK MERCHANTS.—Instances of dignified integrity, such as the following correspondence shows, which we extract from the Richmond Whig are so extremely rare among our merchants, that we give publicity to this, with much pleasure. As Messrs. Allen & Paxon are merchants doing business with Richmond almost exclusively, their conduct in this matter is the more worthy of commendation for it cannot but be prejudicial to their immediate pecuniary advantages.

To the Editors of the Richmond Whig:

Messrs. Editors—Enclosed I send you the correspondence between myself and Messrs. Allen & Paxson, concerning the apprehension of my servant. It needs no comment from me, and I publish it merely to show to the whole South how frail the tenure of their personal property is, when men, standing as high in public estimation as Messrs. Allen & Paxson do, are habitually lending their aid and countenance to such of the captains and crew of the regular or accidental line of vessels between this and New York, as may choose to carry off our slaves.

Respectfully, J. DOVE.

RICHMOND, Dec. 23, 1848.

Messrs. Allen & Paxson:

Gentlemen—My negro woman Patsey left here on Tuesday, 19th, in company with a mulatto man, Tom Randolph—for advertisement of reward, &c. see the Richmond Whig of to day. On the morning after she left my house, four vessels left for New York—the Virginia, Captain Gould; Fair, Captain Snedeiker; Mary Jane Peck, Capt. Roland, and Ann Somars. Will you do do me the favour to hand this letter to the head of Police, and ask him to board and search these vessels?

Very respectfully, your ob't serv't,
JOHN DOVE.

I refer you to my friend, Mr. Gilbert Allen.

(TRUE COPY)

NEW YORK, 26th Dec. 1848.

Doct. John Dove, Richmond:

Dear Sir—Your favour of 23d at hand this morning and duly noticed. While the writer lived in Virginia he would not deal in slaves, even to take them in payment for a bad debt—and cannot now use his influence to secure your runaway—but would be happy to render you any other service.

Your ob't serv'ts,
ALLEN & PAXSON.

The *Richmond Republican* prefaces the correspondence with the following significant language:

In presenting the following correspondence, we cannot but express our surprise that gentlemen who are agents for the most important line of vessels between this city and New York, and with whom our business men have had much intercourse, should be so regardless of the fair claims of our citizens in a matter of vital interest. If slave property, when abducted, is to be concealed in Northern vessels, may not other property also be protected from the claim of its owners?

☞ The address, on our first page, on Slave Emancipation in Kentucky should have been credited to the *Louisville Examiner.*

HON. JOHN P. HALE will accept our thanks for a valuable Congressional Document.

CONGRESSIONAL.

SENATE, JANUARY 8.—Mr. Hale offered sundry petitions, and a debate ensued, which is thus reported in the *National Intelligencer.*

SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES.

Mr. HALE.—I have a very large number of petitions, numerously signed by women of various sections of the country, praying Congress to "adopt measures to prevent the extension of Slavery, to withdraw the protection and cognizance given to the Slave Trade, and to suppress Slavery effectually in those sections over which Congress has jurisdiction."

I move, sir, that the petitions be received and referred to the Committee for the District of Columbia, with instructions to report a bill abolishing Slavery and the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia. Upon that motion I have simply a word to say.

Mr. KING.—Discussion is not allowable upon this motion. I move to lay the motion of reception on the table.

Mr. HALE,—But I have the floor.

VICE PRESIDENT.—The gentleman from Alabama has moved to lay the motion of reception on the table.

Mr. HALE.—But I had not yielded the floor, and I beg leave to ask the Senator from Alabama why I should yield the floor? I made a motion, and upon that motion was proceeding to remark that I had a word to say, when I was interrupted by him.

Mr. KING.—Simply because the Senator cannot discuss the subject until the petitions are received. When they are received they are debatable, but until they are received they are not open for discussion by any Senator.

Mr. HALE—The practice at the last session was different. If I do not forget entirely what occurred, upon one occasion the presiding officer at the last session decided that a motion to receive was a debatable motion, and a debate of several days' continuance, under his sanction, occurred upon a question of this sort. I made a motion to have leave to introduce a bill, and the result, as I have said, was that we spent several days in discussion—and pretty long days at that.

Mr. WESTCOTT—If the Senator will permit I will state the difference existing between that motion and the present one——

Mr. HALE—I have not yielded the floor.

Mr. WESTCOTT—Then I call the Senator to order, that I may have an opportunity to show wherein he is out of order.

Mr. HALE—If the Chair will allow me to make a suggestion, I will state that my motion that was debated at such length at the last session was one to introduce a bill for the suppression of riots in the District of Columbia.

PRESIDING OFFICER—The Chair recollects that, but in this case the Senator from Alabama has interposed an objection.

Mr. HALE—If the Chair will allow me, I would inquire whether the Senator from Alabama had the right to interpose when I was proceeding to suggest to the Senate some reasons in relation to it? The Senator from Alabama had no right then to interpose with his objection. It appears to me that the floor belonged to me at least until I was called to order or ruled out of order in my remarks.

Mr. KING—The parliamentary law is as plain in relation to this question as it can possibly be. It is that, when any paper is presented by any Senator and it is objected to, the question is to be put, "Shall the paper be received?" A motion to lay the motion for reception on the table is not debatable. That has been the practice of the Senate for the last eight or ten years. Parliamentary law is plain upon this question; and, even if it is known to the presiding officer that objection would be made to the reception of the paper after it has been offered, the motion to lay the proposition of reception on the table must be taken without debate. The Senator from New Hampshire, then, was not in order when he attempted to go on and discuss the question involved, and could not with propriety proceed with his remarks until the Senate had decided whether they would receive the paper. The Senate had not made that decision, and the Senator's remarks, therefore, being out of order, I interposed with my motion to lay the question of reception on the table; and that question, as I have already stated, is not debatable.

Mr. HALE—Does the Chair decide that I am in order to proceed?

PRESIDING OFFICER—The Chair has decided that the motion before the Senate is to lay the proposition to receive on the table.

Mr. HALE—Upon that question I ask the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DOUGLAS—I would ask what is the object of the petitioners? I would like to hear the petition read before I vote upon it.

Mr. BUTLER—He has told you the purport of it.

Mr. HALE—It is to prevent the introduction of Slavery where it does not now exist; and wherever the Government has jurisdiction to prevent the continuance of American Slavery and the Slave Trade.

Mr. KING—Yes, in forts and arsenals, for instance.

Mr. HALE—I have moved that it be referred, and that the Committee report a bill abolishing Slavery and the Slave Trade in every place over which Congress has jurisdiction. This is the design of the petitioners.

Mr. WESTCOTT—I understand, then, that its object is to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia.

Mr. HALE. It is to abolish it in every place over which Congress has jurisdiction.

Mr. DOUGLAS—I ask that the petition be read.

Mr. KING—I object to the reading. It has not been received, and it is not in order to read until it has been received.

PRESIDING OFFICER—The motion pending is the one offered by the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. DOUGLAS—It is not in order to ask to have the paper read before it is received. I do not see that there can be any objection to our knowing the contents of the paper.

PRESIDING OFFICER—It may be read by unanimous consent.

Mr. KING—The substance of the paper was stated by the Senator in offering it, in accordance with the rule, and then, if objection be made, the question is, "Shall the paper be received?" Objection was made; the question of reception was then pending, and I moved to lay it on the table. Until that motion is decided debate will be out of order.

Mr. DOUGLAS—Surely the gentleman cannot have any objection to knowing what he is about to vote upon.

Mr. KING—I suppose the Senator from New Hampshire has stated the substance of the petitions correctly.

Mr. DAYTON—It is the ordinary practice of the Senate, I know, on the presentation of memorials which appear to interfere with Slavery in any of the States, to lay the question of their reception on the table; but where the memorial has reference simply to those topics which come within the regular jurisdiction of the Government, and asking only that which we have a constitutional right to grant, has it ever been customary to treat such papers in this way?

Mr. KING—It is not debatable.

Mr. DAYTON—I would ask the Senator from Alabama if he has ever known such a practice obtain here?

Mr. KING, (in his seat.) If it were in order I would answer the Senator very readily.

PRESIDING OFFICER—This is not a debatable motion.

Mr. DOUGLAS—We are then to vote to receive the paper in order to have it read!

PRESIDING OFFICER—The Chair has decided that the motion now before the Senate is not debatable.

The vote was then taken on laying the motion to receive on the table, and resulted as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Atchison, Atherton, Bell, Benton, Berrien, Borland, Butler, Clayton, Davis, of Mississippi, Dickinson, Downs, Fitzgerald, Fitzpatrick, Foote, Houston, Hunter, Johnson, of Louisiana, King, Metcalfe, Pearce, Rusk, Sturgeon, Turney, Underwood, Westcott—25.

NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Baldwin, Bradbury, Bright, Cameron, Corwin, Dayton, Dix, Felch, Hale, Hamlin, Miller, Niles, Spruance, Upham, and Walker—16.

The remainder of the session was consumed in a long debate on the bill to admit certain articles of the growth or production of Canada into the United States free of duty, upon condition that the like articles of the growth or production of the United States are admitted into Canada free of duty.

HOUSE.—PACHECO CLAIM.—The SPEAKER said: The House will remember that the vote on the passage of the bill for the relief of the representatives of Antonio Pacheco was originally made up by the Clerk *ayes* 90, *noes* 89, and this record having been handed to the Speaker, and by him announced to the House, the Speaker proceeded to make some remarks upon the bill, preparatory to giving the vote contemplated in such cases by the rules of the House.—While in the act of explanation, the Speaker was interrupted by the Clerk, who stated that, on a more careful count, the vote was found to be *ayes* 91, *noes* 89. The intervention of the Speaker was therefore no longer allowable, and the bill was declared to have passed the House.

The Chair takes the earliest opportunity to state to the House, this morning, that, upon re-examination of the yeas and nays, the Clerk has ascertained that an error was still made in the announcement of the vote on Saturday. The vote actually stood, *ayes* 89, *noes* 89. The correction will now accordingly be made in the Journal; and a case is immediately presented, agreeably to the 12th rule of the House, for the interposition of the Speaker's vote.——

At this stage of the proceedings the Speaker was interrupted by

Mr. FARRELLY, who rose and called for a further correction of the Journal, stating that he voted in the negative on Saturday last, and his vote appeared not to have been recorded.

The SPEAKER decided that it was the right of the gentleman from Pennsylvania to have his vote recorded, if he voted on Saturday last,

And the correction was accordingly made.

The vote was then finally announced—*Yeas* 89, *nays* 90.

The SPEAKER stated that he came into the House this morning with the full expectation of giving his vote upon this bill, and prepared to give his reasons for the vote. But, as the question now stood, although it might be in his power to vote agreeable to the letter of the 12th rule, it was, in his opinion, not within the contemplation or intention of the rule that he should vote. The rule contemplated that the Speaker should be allowed to vote wherever he could make a difference in the result—wherever his vote would either pass or prevent the passage of the proposition before the House. Under the present circumstances the Speaker's vote could not in any way effect the decision of the House. The bill was already lost by the vote as it stood. A vote against the bill would only increase the majority by which it was defeated; while a vote in favour of the bill would only make a tie, and the bill would still be lost. The Speaker, therefore, did not consider himself called upon to give any vote on the subject.

FUGITIVES FROM LABOUR

Mr. MEADE moved that the rules be suspended for the purpose of enabling him to offer the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas it is the duty of the Congress of the United States to enact all laws necessary to enforce such provisions of the Constitution as were intended to protect the citizens of the several States in their rights of property; and past experience has proved that laws should be passed by Congress to enforce the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution, which requires that persons held to labour in one State, escaping into another, shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such labour may be due: Therefore

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary is hereby instructed to report a bill to this House providing effectually for the apprehension and delivery of fugitives from labour who have escaped or may hereafter escape from one State into another.

The question on the motion to suspend the rules was lost: Yeas 78, nays 90.

The House then took up the bill of the Board for Settlements, which was discussed till nearly the hour for adjournment.

COLONIZATION OF COLOURED PERSONS.

SENATE,—JANUARY 9.—Mr. UNDERWOOD presented the petition of Daniel P. Beddinger, asking that an annual appropriation may be made by Congress for the transportation of such free persons of colour as may desire to emigrate to Liberia, or such slaves as may be manumitted.

After some debate and a motion of Mr. Hale that the petition be laid on the table which however was afterwards withdrawn the resolution was laid over at the request of Mr. Drayton. A bill for the organization of a Territorial Government in California was reported from the Judiciary Committee. After a long debate the usual number was ordered to be printed, and the question postponed till some future day.

HOUSE.—The bill for a Board of Commissioners, and the Appropriation Bills were taken up in the House. An excited debate in the Mileage question ensued, in which Mr. Greeley received a full share of abuse from various members, whose surplus mileage was largest, especially Mr. Brown of Missouri, and Sawyer of Ohio.

SENATE, JANUARY 10—Various Reports from Committees were received and petitions offered. Mr. Underwood's Resolution laid over from the day before was then taken up and a debate, reported as follows in the *Herald*, ensued therein:

COLONIZATION VS. ABOLITION.

A few days ago Mr. Underwood presented a petition from Dr. Bedinger and others, of Kentucky, praying Congress to make an appropriation of money, to meet the expenses of transportation of certain liberated slaves in that State, (too poor to pay their way out,) to the black Republic of Liberia. The petition was then referred; but a reconsideration being had, the question of reference came up again.

Mr. UNDERWOOD moved the reference of the petition to the Judiciary Committee, with instructions to report in favour of the petitioners.

Mr. DAYTON moved to strike out the instructions.

Mr. UNDERWOOD hoped the motion would not prevail. One of the objects of the petition was to get the encouragement of a project which the people of Kentucky had on foot. They would soon hold a convention on the subject of Slavery, and would probably adopt some means for the gradual emancipation of their slaves. A report from the committee, declaring the power of Congress to make appropriations for the transportation of liberated slaves to Liberia, would encourage the movement contemplated in Kentucky, in opening a home and a way to reach it for liberated slaves. With such a report, even if no action were had upon it, doubtless many private individuals would be induced to liberate their slaves. The Senator then took up the subject of the right of petition, and said he had moved a re-consideration upon the petitions which were rejected the other day, because he conceived that those petitions praying the exercise of the power of Congress over all places under its authority, for the exclusion and abolition of Slavery, was clearly within the province of the right of petition, and the rejection of such papers could only do mischief by exciting the fanatics of the North, and giving them some just reason of complaint. He considered that the right of petition was necessarily restricted. Men had no right to petition for an act which Congress had no power to pass. They had no right to petition for measures in which they were in no degree personally interested. He then exhibited the mischief which had followed the denial of the right of petition by the House, under the 21st rule, and was, therefore, in favour of admitting the right to its extreme limits, as it was not the way to conciliate the North by treating their petitions with contempt. He hoped his motion would be adopted, and the committee would report, if they could, upon the distinction between the transportation of liberated slaves and of Indian tribes out of the country by the Government.

Mr. METCALFE made an earnest appeal in favour of colonization. Free, or liberated, while the blacks remain in this country, they must remain a degraded race. They were here, and the only way of mitigating the evil, was to provide some means for their removal from amongst us. He knew the father of the petitioner, and the petitioner himself. He was a man of intelligence, and had studied and written much upon the subject.

Mr. HALE, while he thanked the first Senator from Kentucky in this debate, for the liberal motion of re-consideration which he had made, begged leave to differ with him on the right of petition, and denied the limits which he had prescribed for its exercise. I am astonished (said Mr. Hale, leaving out even the great question of Slavery itself,) at the constant complaints of the South against Northern aggression; and this, too, when the North has become so craven and pusillanimous on this subject, as to be the reproach even of the women and children. It is a shame with which we are justly reproachable, and I feel that I am entitled to a share of it. Why, sir, Slavery has ruled this Government since the adoption of the federal constitution. It has carried its power so far, that if we have presumed upon the right to beg, we have been denounced as insolent. We have submitted long enough with our backs to the lash of this slave power. I do not wish to be aggressive. I am willing to support the institution where it exists to the extremest limits of the constitution; but our own cherished rights I cannot consent to relinquish.

Mr. DOUGLASS would not have said anything in this discussion but for the last remarks of the Senator from New Hampshire. As a Northern man he was not willing to hear in silence the libel upon the North, that they had degraded themselves by submission to the South. The North have always maintained their rights. If there has been any submission by the North in former times, it has been a submission to the Constitution. I regret that this submission has been less regarded in these latter days. I regret this spirit of faction which would ride into power on the ruins of the Constitution. If the Constitution be good as it came from our fathers, how can it be said we are degraded in adhering to it? He regretted this unnatural excitement in the North and in the South. He was anxious to drive this agitating question from these halls. The Territorial Bill for admitting California as a State, by leaving it to the people, would settle it at once, with regard to the territories; and by the retrocession of this district to the State of Maryland, the whole question of this constant agitation would be disposed of. Pass these bills, and the question of Slavery is at an end.

Mr. UNDERWOOD, in reply to Mr. Hale, maintained his limitations of the right of petition. Men had no right to petition for that in which they were not interested. And the abolition of Slavery in this district does not affect the people of the North. It may affect their religious sentiments; but—

Mr. HALE—Does not the North have to pay its money for the support of certain slaves imprisoned here, and for the support of the institution as it exists in this district?

Mr. UNDERWOOD—I admit that they do to some extent. The Federal Government is supported by the members of all the Union, and the objection would apply as well in any other case.

Mr. DAYTON wished the petition to go to the committee without instructions. The Senator says that Kentucky is about to hold a convention, and that the opinion of our respectable committee might have some influence in aid of such convention. But whether it will or not, I do not wish the committee to be made the beast of burden for any decision upon the subject.

The motion to strike out the instructions was agreed to.

Mr. MASON was opposed to any inquiry upon the subject in any form whatever. The question cannot now be approached without doing mischief, and without danger to our domestic institutions. As one of the representatives of Virginia here, I protest against any inquiry into the matter at all. Our position is already sufficiently humiliating, and it is only from our regard to the constitution and the Union that we have continued to submit to it. It is only from this cause that I shall submit to take part in the discussion which is soon to come up. The General Assembly of Virginia is about to act, and when she takes her position there will not be one of her sons that will be found recreant to his duty, or unmindful of her rights. I am opposed, sir, to any inquiry upon the subject in any form.

Mr. DAVIS, of Mississippi, charged home upon the North their aggressions upon the South; and of all the claptrap of the demagogues of the day that of the right of petition was, perhaps, the most ridiculous. He denied the power to Congress to transport blacks to Africa. What right had they to discriminate between one class of passengers and another? The North had received the first and largest profits from Slavery, and it belonged to them to transport the free blacks to Africa, if to any part of the Union at all.

Mr. BUTLER protested that if this matter were referred to the Judiciary Committee, he should ask to be discharged from its consideration, for he could not consent to his own degradation and the degradation of his country, by inquiring into such matters at this time.

Mr. BERRIEN, after detailing the subject matter of the memorial and the object of it to secure the support of the decision of the Judiciary Committee in favour of some contemplated scheme of gradual emancipation by Kentucky, opposed the reference, because, said he, it is nothing more nor less than an application from Kentucky, for an annual appropriation by Congress to aid in the transportation of emancipated slaves to Africa and thus working out the gradual emancipation of Slavery throughout the United States.

Mr. NILES believed that Congress had no power over this subject. It was a matter that belonged to the States and ought to be left to them.

Mr. DICKINSON concurred with the Senator from Connecticut in believing that no good could come from its further consideration, and moved that the subject be indefinitely postponed.

Agreed to, 27 to 23.

HOUSE—In the House Mr. Stuart's motion to re-consider the vote by which Mr. Gott's resolution and preamble were passed came up in order. The resolution and preamble were as follows. We copy the debate from the *Herald*:

Whereas, The traffic now prosecuted in this metropolis of the Republic in human beings as chattels, is contrary to natural justice and the fundamental principles of our political system, and is notoriously a reproach to our country throughout Christendom, and a serious hindrance to the progress of republican liberty among the nations of the earth. Therefore,

Resolved, That the committee for the District of Columbia be instructed to report a bill, as soon as practicable, prohibiting the Slave Trade in said District.

The SPEAKER remarked that if the order was insisted on, the business would now be proceeded with.

Mr. WENTWORTH called for the order.

Mr. BRODHEAD moved a call of the House before the question was taken.

Mr. WENTWORTH said that to this he had no objection.

The CLERK called the roll; and one hundred and seventy-seven members answered to their names.

The SPEAKER—The doors will now be closed.

Mr. CLINGMAN—I move that all further proceedings in the call be dispensed with. ["No!" "no!" "Go on with the call."]

The doors were closed, and the names of the absentees were called.

Mr. WENTWORTH—I ask whether it will be in order to lay on the table the motion to re-consider the vote by which the resolution of Mr. Gott was passed?

The SPEAKER—It will.

Mr. WENTWORTH—There are some who wish to debate the question; there are others who would like to get rid of it by voting now.

The SPEAKER—The motion to re-consider may be debated.

Mr. STUART—I ask the gentleman from Illinois to withdraw his motion, that an amendment may be read, which I will offer, if the motion to re-consider prevail.

Mr. WENTWORTH—I would have no objection to accommodate one or two gentlemen, but there may be a dozen more.

The SPEAKER endeavoured to repress the disorder which prevailed in all parts of the House; and said, the Chair can only inquire if the gentleman from Illinois will give way?

Mr. WENTWORTH—No, sir; I insist on my motion. ("That's right.")

Mr. KAUFMAN—I ask that the proposed amendment of the gentleman from Michigan be read for the information of the House.

Mr. WENTWORTH—I will give way, if the amendment can be read without my losing the floor, or without a speech being made.

Mr. STUART—I merely wish the amendment read for the information of the House. ("Read," "read." "Let's hear it." "Read.")

The SPEAKER—The Chair will not decide on any point, or recognise any gentleman, until the House comes to order. ("Order," "order.") The chair understands the gentleman from Illinois to withdraw his motion to lay upon the table, as a matter of courtesy to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GIDDINGS—I rise to a question of order, viz:—Whether the gentleman from Illinois can withdraw his motion for this purpose?

The SPEAKER—The gentleman can withdraw the motion, and then hold the floor, and make an hour's speech.

After some debate on points of order,

Mr. STUART said—I ask that my amendment be read by the Clerk.

The SPEAKER—It cannot be read by the Clerk.

Mr. STUART—Then I'll read it myself. ("Go on." "Object," "object.") I propose to strike out all after the word "resolved," in the resolution, and insert ("Louder," "louder,")—that is loud enough, if you listen—["Go on," Ha, ha,] and insert: "That the Committee for the District of Columbia prepare and report to this House a bill, authorising the corporate authorities of Georgetown to prevent the introduction of slaves into their city, for trade or merchandise, and that this apply to the corporate limits; also that the corporate authorities of the city of Washington have a similar power, and that the prohibition extend throughout the District."

Mr. WENTWORTH—I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. LINCOLN—I want to ask a plain question of the gentleman from Illinois. Will he permit another amendment to be read?

Mr. WENTWORTH replied in the affirmative.

Mr. LINCOLN—By the courtesy of my colleague, I propose to say that I shall make an effort, if the vote to re-consider prevail, to offer an amendment.

[He read his amendment, a long one, to the effect the Committee for the District of Columbia be instructed to report a bill providing for the abolition of the Slave Trade and the ultimate abolition of Slavery, by making free those born after the year 1850, and allowing a reasonable compensation for adult negroes. The vote of the free white male citizens to be taken on the first Monday in April, to determine whether such a bill shall become a law, etc.]

Mr. LINCOLN—I am authorised to say, of fifteen leading citizens of the District of Columbia, to whom this proposition has been submitted, there is not one who disapproves of the passage of such a bill. I don't wish to be misunderstood. I do not know whether or not they would vote for such a bill on the first Monday in April, but those fifteen persons desired a measure like this to pass Congress.

Mr. MCLANE [to Mr. Wentworth]—Will the gentleman give way?

Mr. WENTWORTH—For what purpose?

Mr. MCLANE—I wish to say a few words before I vote.

Mr. PETTIT—Give Maryland a chance to be heard. ["Go on."]

Mr. MCLANE—It is the general desire of the Maryland delegation on both sides of the House—

Mr. WENTWORTH—Mr Speaker, how much time have I remaining?

The SPEAKER—It is not parliamentary courtesy to yield for a speech, but for explanation or amendments. If the gentleman from Illinois gives way for a speech from the gentleman of Maryland, he must give way altogether.

Mr. WENTWORTH—I am satisfied, from the various oppositions made here this morning, that the House is to vote directly on the motion, or on the various propositions. Therefore, I insist on my motion to lay on the table.

Mr. EVANS, of Maryland—I hope that the gentleman will withdraw the motion. ["Vote it down." "Vote it down."]

Yeas and nays were taken, and the result was—yeas, 79; nays, 122, so the House refused to lay on the table the motion to re consider the vote by which Mr Gott's resolution was passed.

Mr. SPEAKER said that the motion to re-consider the motion was before the House, when

Mr. MCLANE, of Maryland expressed the hope that the resolution would be re-considered. So far as the District was concerned as a part of the State of Maryland, the Slave Trade has been abolished. Gentlemen coming from the North bring no new lights of principles or morals. The general and steady policy of Maryland has been that which looked to the ultimate emancipation of the black race. The law now is the absolute emancipation of the black who is introduced from another State, for the purpose of being sold. He has no costs to pay even. Mr. McLane himself presented to the chambers the petition of a negro woman, and under the law, procured her freedom. The law has been modified, however, in consequence of the impertinent intermeddling of such persons as the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. Giddings,] not to depart from the original policy of the State, but for the better security of property. What a Marylander would do at home, he must hope to do here, or in any other State. He was ready now, and always had been, to prohibit, everywhere, any other Slave Trade than that which is involved in a State as property. If a State chooses to receive slaves, and protect them, he could see nothing immoral in it. If he desired to retain a slave, it was a matter which concerned himself. Did gentlemen suppose that when Maryland ceded that portion of the territory which composed the ten miles square, she ceded the people? She did no such thing, and we do not understand that the people who inhabit the country surrendered their rights. Maryland ceded the territory and gave Congress exclusive jurisdiction, but not unlimited. Congress must confine itself to its express powers. He would not, certainly, vote for direct action by Congress to prohibit the Slave Trade in the district because that would be tantamount to the abolition of Slavery. If the Slave Trade was prohibited by Maryland, at the time of the cession, the best we could do was to hold to the existing law. He wished this support to go to either the Committee for the District of Columbia, or to the Committee on the Judiciary, as both of them possess intelligence and patriotism. He desired the committee to ascertain by what legal and constitutional means the Slave Trade can be prohibited in the District. He would cheerfully vote to preserve the existing law; but would not vote for any act which touches Slavery without this district.

Mr. C. B. SMITH, of Indiana, believed that the Slave-Trade in the district of Columbia was a great evil, and demanded a remedy; and he was as willing as any one to adopt a remedy, and conform to the voice of the people.—He did not desire to enter upon legislation to produce what is called agitation; he did not wish to speak of Slavery as an abstract question, to build up a political party, and God forbid that political parties should ever be made to turn on a subject of this character. ("Amen,") He had heard it charged that the traffic in slaves here is in violation of law; but he did not know what laws were in force in the District; and, for the purpose of informing the House and the country, he desired that an investigation should be made by a Committee, that they may report what laws are in force, and what measures are necessary to correct the evil. He believed that a large majority were desirous to see what mode of legislation should be adopted, without a preamble of the character presented. He did not desire to excite the people of the South more than the people of the North. Whatever his opinions were, and he had never attempted to conceal them, he had been accustomed to argue that Slavery is a local institution where it exists; while the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Giddings) says that we have no right to go to South Carolina or Georgia to interfere with the institution. If we have no right to legislate in these States, why pass a preamble, and hold them up to the reprobation of the world? He did not see what practical result was to be obtained by discussing the question here. If he wanted to express his opinions at length he would go before his constituents, where somebody could profit by what he might say. He did not believe that there could be good results from discussing the abstract question here.

Mr. GIDDINGS.—I inquire of the gentleman whether he intends to charge me with improper arguments?

Mr. SMITH.—I made no charges.

Mr. GIDDINGS—As he has made allusion to improper agitation, I ask whether he charges me with interfering with that over which we have not jurisdiction?

Mr. SMITH.—I have heard him say that we have no power to interfere with Slavery in the States.

Mr. GIDDINGS.—I want to know whether the gentleman himself goes for sustaining the Slave Trade in this District? I desire a direct answer.

Mr. SMITH.—My own opinions are known to the House and to my constituents; and when a case is presented for me to act with regard to Slavery in the District, I will do so. I can tell him, however, that I am not disposed to leave the question to be settled by the free negroes or the slave dealers of the District of Columbia. (Ha! ha! "Good!") I desire to see the Slave Trade abolished, and I believe that the members from Slave States will concur with me in the propriety of doing so. I was pleased to hear the patriotic sentiments of the gentleman from Maryland. Maryland, Virginia, and other States, free negroes who are brought there for sale; and I heard Southern members say that, in their States, the people would not tolerate such slave-pens as there are in this District. I appeal to these gentlemen, and ask whether they will refuse to adopt for this District what they regard as right in their own States?

Mr. MEADE, of Virginia, arose for the purpose of saying that he was not aware of any Slave State which prevented the sale of negroes.

Mr. MANN, of Massachusetts, wished to ask Mr. Meade if he was not aware, that in Delaware there is a law which prohibits any owner of a slave from selling the slave out of the State.

Mr. MEADE replied that he had not the State of Delaware in his mind, as he did not regard it as one of the Slave States proper.

Mr. SMITH.—I understood the introduction of slaves, with a view to be sold.

Mr. CRISFIELD here produced the law of Maryland about negroes, which was read by permission of Mr. Smith

Mr. DICKEY desired to ask a question, but

Mr. SMITH refused to yield the floor, and proceeded: A few days ago, somebody sent him a paper, the organ of the Free Soil party in Cincinnati, in which abuse was heaped upon him, because, in the Committee on Territories he had refused to vote in favour of giving to free negroes in California the right of suffrage. A good deal of talk had been indulged in about reporters of the proceedings of Congress, but he was not before aware that there was a reporter for the Committees. He desired to see the principle of Free Soil carried into the Territories. When he introduced the bill for a government in California, would gentlemen have desired him to load it down, by placing negroes on an equality with the whites? What hope would there have been for the Oregon bill, if it had been so framed? We had never seen a negro vote in Indiana, or in Ohio; nor did he believe they did vote in any State without restriction, except in Massachusetts. Perhaps there may be three States. When gentlemen vote for Free Soil, and yet advocate suffrage to negroes, he was induced to doubt their sincerity. In Ohio, New York, and Connecticut, free suffrage for them met with no favour. He had no doubt of the power of Congress to abolish Slavery any moment. When they do so, they must consult the people of the district, and make compensation to the owners of the slaves. However, much I would desire this, I cannot agree with the gentleman from Massachusetts, in his proposition to repeal all laws, and immediately and unconditionally dissolve the connection of master and slave.

Mr. PALFREY made a remark, to us inaudible.

Mr. SMITH—I understood that it was proposed by a single enactment, to repeal all laws on the subject of Slavery.

Mr. PALFREY—In the District of Columbia.

Mr. SMITH—Of course. Before we do that, have we a right to deprive men of that in which they have invested their all, and which is considered as property and capital! Have we a right to deprive them of their all, without doing the simple justice of remunerating them? If we desire to repeal these laws, we should be just.

Mr. SAWYER—I have listened to gentlemen who have discussed this question. Is it possible that no other subject but that of Slavery can be debated? Look at the situation of affairs. On your calendar there are seven hundred private bills, and thousands of petitions are coming in daily. There is, in addition, a hundred or so of laws to be acted on; but from morning till night nothing is talked of without having negroes and negro Slavery introduced. I appeal to the good sense of the House and the patriotism of the country, and ask them to abandon this infamous means of legislation. (Ha! ha! ha!) We ought, at some time, to get rid of it. What do my constituents care about the subject. There are other questions of more importance; and yet we are spending our time, day after day, arguing an abstract question. It appears that certain gentlemen embarrass us in our legislation. My constituents understand these things very well, and they never ask me about them unless there is something practical. The session is half out, and there is a large amount of business before us. The people are suffering. You hear a voice of warning. The Cholera is approaching. [Ha! ha! ha!—"You'll laugh the other way if it catches you."] It may soon be in our neighbourhood. You can't keep Congress together if it comes. I ask gentlemen to take into consideration these matters, and proceed to business, and leave negro Slavery to the people themselves. Our constituents did not send us here for any such purposes. How is it with my constituents? There are other questions which involve their interests much more than this. What are they? It reminds me of an anecdote of a little boy who went to a neighbouring woman to get a patch put on his pantaloons. [Ha! ha!] The boy resembled the boy in the slashes, going to mill, with his streamer behind in the breeze. The woman asked, "Why does not your mother mend your pantaloons?" "Why," he said "she is making up clothing to send to the Greeks," [Ha! ha! ha!] Attend to your own households, and then attend to the Greeks. I have constituents, and not a tear is shed for them. All around them the banks are breaking, and there is not a word of sympathy. Let us go to work and have a tariff on a proper basis, so as not to make the wealthy richer to the detriment of the poor; and not tolerate the banking system, which cuts the throats of nine-tenths for the advantage of a few. Let us not be led away by the *ignis fatuus* of negroes. "The Greeks are at your door," as John Randolph once said. Legislate for free whites first, and then it will be time enough to let your sympathies run for the black population. I repeat, that the course which we are now pursuing, tends to degrade us and the character of this House. When thousands of honest claims are pressing on me, we are consuming the time in disgraceful scenes. I ask you, Mr. Speaker, how we can get clear of this? Can it be by moving to lay on the table, to indefinitely postpone, or what? ("Move the previous question.") I demand it, and won't withdraw. ("Hold on to it.")

Mr GIDDINGS.—I wish to inquire of my colleague——("Order, order."

The question was then taken, and the vote by which Mr. Gott's resolution was heretofore passed, was reconsidered. Yeas 119, nays 81.

Mr. C. B. SMITH offered an amendment, viz:—In place of the resolution, insert, "Resolved that the Committee for the District of Columbia be instructed to inquire what legislation is necessary to prevent the introduction of slaves from any of the States into the District, for sale here or elsewhere, and that they report by bill or otherwise."

Mr. ROOT—Can the question be divided so as to take the question separately on the preamble and the resolution?

The SPEAKER—It cannot.

Mr. BOTTS—I move to lay the resolution on the table ["Yeas and nays, yeas and nays."]

Mr. DUER—Is it in order to ask for the reading of the resolution?

The SPEAKER—It will be read with the amendment proposed.

The CLERK began to read

Mr. RHETT—Mr. Speaker, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER—The Clerk is reading the resolution.

Mr. RHETT—Is the resolution before the House?

The SPEAKER—It is before the House.

The Clerk read the resolution, and the amendment proposed by Mr. Smith.

The SPEAKER—It is moved by the gentleman from Virginia that the resolution he laid upon the table.

The question was taken and decided in the negative—yeas 94, nays 110, as follows, viz:—

Yeas.—Archibald Atkinson, Daniel M. Barringer, Washington Barrow, Richard L. T. Beale, Henry Bedinger, Ausburn Birdsall, Thomas S. Bocock, John M. Botts, Linn Boyd, Nathaniel Boyden, Samuel A. Bridges, Richard Brodhead, William G. Brown, Charles Brown, Albert G. Brown, Armistead Burt, E. Carrington Cabell, John G. Chapman, Franklin Clark, Beverly L. Clark, Thomas L. Clingman, Howell Cobb, Williamson R. W. Cobb, William M Cocke, John W. Crisfield, John H. Crozier, John B. J. Daniel, Richard S. Donnell, Alexander Evans, Winfield S. Featherton, Thomas S. Flournoy, Richard French, Andrew S. Fulton, John P. Gaines, John Gayle, Meredith P. Gentry, William L. Goggin, James S. Green, Willard P. Hall, Hugh A. Herrison, Samson W. Harris, William T. Haskell, Hugh L. W. Hill, Henry W. Hilliard, G. Houghton, J. W. Houston, S. W. Inge, Charles J. Ingersoll, Alfred Iverson, John Jamieson, Andrew Johnson, Geo W. Jones, John W. Jones, David S. Kaufman, William Kennon, jr. Thomas Butler King, Emelie La Sere, Lewis C. Levin, Thomas W. Ligon, John H. Lumpkin, John A. McClerland, James McDowell, James J. McKay, Robert M. McLane, Richard K. Meade, John K. Miller, Charles S. Morehead, Isaac E. Morse, Henry C. Murphy, David Outlaw, John S. Pendleton, Samuel O. Peyton, John S. Phelps. Timothy Pillsbury, William B. Preston, R. Barnwell Rhett, William A. Richardson, J. Dixon Roman, William Sawyer, Augustine H. Sheppard, Richard F. Simpson. Frederick P. Stanton, Alexander H. Stephens, James H, Thomas, J. B. Thompson, J. Thompson, R. A. Thompson, P. W. Tompkins, Robert Toombs, Abraham W. Venables, Daniel Wallace, James S. Wiley, Hezekiah Williams, Joseph A. Woodward—yeas 94.

Nays—Amos Abbott, Hiram Belcher, Kinsley S. Bingham, Eshon Blackmar, John Blanchard, Jasper E. Brady, Chester Butler, Richard S. Canby, Charles W. Cathcart, Asa W. H. Clapp, Jacob Collamer, William Collins, Harmon S. Conger, Robert H. Cranston, John Crowell, John D. Cummins, Mason C. Darling, John Dickey, Rudolphus Dickinson, James Dixon, William Duer, George G. Dunn, George N. Ecker, Thomas O. Edwards, Nathan Evans, E. Embree, James J. Faran, J. W. Farrelly, O. B. Ficklin, Daniel Gott, Horace Greeley, Dudley S Gregory, Joseph Grinnell, Nathan K. Hall, David Hammons, James G. Hampton, Moses Hampton, Thomas J. Henley, Wm. Henry, Elias B. Holmes, Samuel D. Hubbard, Charles Hudson, Washington Hunt, A. Irvin, T. Jenkins, J. Johnson, Kellogg, King, Lahm, W. T. Lawrence, S. Lawrence, Leffler, Lincoln, Lord, Lynde, McClelland, McIlvaine, J. Mann, H. Mann, Marsh, Marvin, Morris, Mullin Nelson, Nes, Newell, Nicoll, Palfrey, Peaslee, Peck, Petrie, Petit, Pollock. Putnam, Richey, Rockhill, J. A. Rockwell, J Rockwell, Rose, Root, Rumsey, jr. St. John, Schenck, Sherrill, Silvester, Smart, C. B. Smith, R. Smith, T. Smith, Starkweather, Stuart, Strohm, Tallmadge, Taylor, Richard W. Thompson, W. Thompson, Thurston, Tuck. Turner, Van Dyke, Vinton, Warren, Wentworth, White, Wilmot, Wilson—yeas 110

The question was stated, on seconding the demand for the previous question.

Mr. GIDDINGS—Before the vote is taken, I wish to appeal to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. PETTIT moved that the House adjourn. ("Go on, go on.")

The question was taken, and the House refused to adjourn—ayes, 65; nays, 101.

Mr. DUER—I ask whether, if the previous question be sustained, and the amendment of the gentleman from Indiana be rejected, we will have no opportunity of offering another amendment?

The SPEAKER—No.

Mr. SMITH—I believe that I have a right to modify any amendment.

The SPEAKER—The gentleman can withdraw the motion of the previous question for his own purpose.

Mr. SMITH—I modify the amendment as follows:—That the Committee for the District of Columbia be instructed to report, as soon as practicable, a bill so amending the present laws as to prevent the bringing of slaves into this District for sale, either here or beyond the District.

Mr. MEADE—Is that the amendment?

The SPEAKER—The gentleman can modify his own amendment.

Mr. STUART, of Michigan—I ask the gentleman to let me offer an amendment. ("Question, question.")

The House then refused to second the demand for the previous question, (which would have brought the House to a vote.) Yeas 71, nays 50.

Mr. MEADE asked leave to offer an amendment, "And that said committee be instructed to report a bill more effectually to enable owners to recover their slaves escaping from one State into another."

The SPEAKER—It is out of order: it does not relate to Slavery in the District of Columbia

The gentlemen were standing in various parts of the hall calling out, "Mr. Speaker! Mr. Speaker!"

Mr. SMITH—I offer my former amendment and move the previous question. ("You can't do it.")

The cry was was renewed, "Mr. Speaker! Mr. Speaker!" and there appeared to be the greatest anxiety on the part of a dozen members to get the floor.

The SPEAKER—The House must come to order. ("Order, order,")

Several questions were asked of the chair, and responded to.

Mr. COBB, of Georgia, moved that the House adjourn. ("Oh, no, let's stick it out!")

And at fifteen minutes past three o'clock, the House adjourned.

FOREIGN.

ARRIVAL OF THE STEAMSHIP AMERICA.

Ten Days.

LATER FROM EUROPE.

The America arrived at Boston, on Friday last with ten days later news from Europe, but without any intelligence of much interest. On the 20th ult. Louis Napoleon was proclaimed President of France; he took the oath, and made a very brief address to the Assembly. The address consisted simply of asseverations of his determination to maintain his oath, and his gratitude at the majority which made him the choice of the people. He also said that a debt of gratitude was due to the Government which preceeded him, and at the close of his speech, advanced and offered his hand to General Cavaignac, which was cordially accepted. His ministry is as follows:

M. Odillion Barrot, Minister of Justice, charged with the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, in the absence of the Vice President of the Republic.
M. Drouyn de Shuys, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
M. Leon de Malleville, Minister of the Interior.
M. Retberes, Minister of War.
M. de Trecy, Minister of the Marine and Colonies.
M. Talloux, Minister of Public Instruction, and Worship.
M. Leon Gaucher, Minister of the Public Works.
M. Bixio, Minister of Agriculture.
M Passy Hyppolite, Minister of the Finances.

The Cholera still continues in England.

Affairs at Rome have grown rather worse than better so far as the Pope is concerned. There is a determination, it is supposed, to strip him entirely of his temporal power. He is expected to visit Paris.

In Austria public attention is mainly directed to the war with Hungary.

At Berlin tranquillity is entirely restored.

Married.

In Boston, January 9, Mr. CHARLES W. SLACK, editor of the Boston Excelsior, to Miss EVELINA E. daughter of Mr. Alexander Vannevar.

In this city, January 3, JAMES DAVENPORT WHELPLEY, Esq. editor of the American Whig Review, to Miss ANN MARIA WELLS, of Roxbury. Massachusetts.

On the 4th instant by Rev. H. P. Tappan, Rev. GEORGE BUSH to Miss MARY W. FISHERS.

Died.

In Hillsboro', Pa. Jan 7, of cholera, Lieut. Col. ROGER S. DIX, Paymaster United States Army, and brother of Hon. John A. Dix, of New York.

In Newburyport, January 5, Capt. JOHN N. CUSHING, aged 69 years 8 months, father of General Caleb Cushing.

In Arkansas, on the 1st instant Hon. J. SEVIER, late U. S Senator from Arkansas.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Boston, on WEDNESDAY, January 24th, commencing at 10 o'clock A. M. and will probably continue in session the two succeeding days. The signs of the times are so auspicious for the friends of emancipation, that a large and spirited attendance on their part confidently expected. Such are the facilities of railroad conveyance, every part of the Commonwealth ought to be well represented. We cordially invite our friends, beyond the limits of Massachusetts, to be with us on the approaching anniversary. The Slave Power is beginning to falter—fresh adherents are daily rallying around the standard of Liberty—and the cry of "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS" is causing the knees of the oppressor to tremble. We must press onward until our work is accomplished, the slave liberated from his chains, and the land purged from its stains of pollution and blood.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

EDMUND QUINCY, *Secretary.*

Poetry.

A CHRISTMAS CAROL.

BY S. T. COLERIDGE.

The shepherds went their hasty way,
And found the lonely stable-shed
Where the virgin-mother lay;
And now they check'd their eager tread;
For to the babe, that at her bosom clung,
A mother's song the virgin-mother sung.

They told her how a glorious light,
Streaming from a heavenly throng,
Around them shone, suspending night!
While sweeter than a mother's song,
Blessed angels, heralded the glorious birth,
"Glory to God on high!" and "Peace on Earth!"

She listened to the tale divine,
And closer still the babe she pressed,
And while she cried—"the babe is mine,"
The milk rushed faster to her breast:
Joy rose within, like a summer morn;
Peace "Peace on Earth!" The "Prince of Peace" is born.

The mother of the "Prince of Peace,"
Poor, simple, and of low estate,—
That strife should vanish, battle cease,
Oh! why should *this* thy soul elate?
Sweet music's loudest note, the poet's story,—
Did'st thou ne'er love to hear of fame and glory?

And is not war a youthful king,
A hero stately clad in mail?
Beneath his footsteps laurels spring:
Him earth's majestic monarchs hail
Their friend, their playmate! and his bold, bright eye
Compels the maiden's love-confessing sigh.

"Tell this in some more courtly scene,
To maids in robes of State,
I am a woman, poor and mean,
And therefore is my soul elate.
War is a ruffian, and with guile defiled,
That from the aged father tears his child!

A murderous fiend by fiends adored,
He kills the sire, and starves the son;
The husband kills, and from his board,
Steals all his widow's toil has won;
Plunders God's world of beauty; rends away
All safety from the night, all comfort from the day.

Then wisely is my soul elate,
'That strife should vanish, battle cease!'
I'm poor and of a low estate,
The mother of the 'Prince of Peace.'
Joy rises in me, like a summer's morn:
Peace, 'Peace on Earth!' The 'Prince of Peace' is born."

Miscellany.

THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

BY THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY.

The death of King Charles the Second took the nation by surprise. His frame was naturally strong, and did not appear to have suffered from excess.—He had always been mindful of his health even in his pleasures; and his habits were such as promise a long life and a robust old age. Indolent as he was on all occasions which required tension of the mind, he was active and persevering in bodily exercise. He had, when young, been renowned as a tennis player, and was, even in the decline of life, an indefatigable walker. His ordinary pace was such that those who were admitted to the honour of his society found it difficult to keep up with him. He rose early, and generally passed three or four hours a day in the open air. He might be seen, before the dew was off the grass, in St. James' Park, striding among the trees, playing with his spaniels, and flinging corn to his ducks; and these exhibitions endeared him to the common people, who always love to see the great unbend.

At length, towards the close of the year 1684, he was prevented, by a slight attack of what was supposed to be gout, from rambling as usual. He now spent his mornings in his laboratory, where he amused himself with experiments on the properties of mercury. His temper seemed to have suffered from confinement. He had no apparent cause for disquiet. His kingdom was tranquil; he was not in pressing want of money; his power was greater than it had ever been; the party which had long thwarted him had been beaten down; but the cheerfulness which had supported him against adverse fortune had vanished in this season of prosperity.

A trifle now sufficed to depress those elastic spirits which had borne up against defeat, exile and penury. His irritation frequently showed itself by looks and words such as could hardly have been expected from a man so eminently distinguished by good humour and good breeding. It was not supposed, however, that his constitution was seriously impaired.

His palace had seldom presented a gayer or a more scandalous appearance than on the evening of Sunday, the 1st of February, 1685. Some grave persons who had gone thither, after the fashion of that age, to pay their duty to their sovereign, and who had expected that, on such a day his court would wear a decent aspect, were struck with astonishment and horror. The great gallery of Whitehall, an admirable relic of the magnificence of the Tudors, was crowded with revellers and gamblers. The King sat there chatting and toying with three women, whose charms were the boast, and whose vices were the disgraces of three nations. Barbara Palmer, Duchess of Cleveland, was there, no longer young, but still retaining some traces of that superb and voluptuous loveliness which, twenty years before, overcame the hearts of all men. There, too, was the Duchess of Portsmouth, whose soft and infantine features were lighted up with the vivacity of France. Hortensia Mancini, Duchess of Mazarin, and niece of the great Cardinal, completed the group. She had been early removed from her native Italy to the court where her uncle was supreme. His power and her own attractions had drawn a crowd of illustrious suitors round her. Charles himself, during his exile, had sought her hand in vain. No gift of nature or of fortune seemed to be wanting to her.—Her face was beautiful with the rich beauty of the South, her understanding quick, her manners graceful, her rank exalted, her possessions immense; but her ungovernable passions had turned all these blessings into curses. She had found the misery of an ill-assorted marriage intolerable, had fled from her husband, had abandoned her vast wealth, and, after having astonished Rome and Piedmont by her adventures, had fixed her abode in England. Her house was the favourite resort of men of wit and pleasure, who, for the sake of her smiles and her table, endured her frequent fits of insolence and ill-humour. Rochester and Godolphin sometimes forgot the cares of State in her company. Barillon and Saint Evremond found in her drawing-room consolation for their long banishment from Paris. The learning of Vossius, the wit of Waller, were daily employed to flatter and amuse her. But her diseased mind required stronger stimulants, and sought them in gallantry, in basset, and in usquebaugh.—While Charles flirted with his three sultanas, Hortensia's French page, a handsome boy, whose vocal performances were the delight of Whitehall, and were rewarded by numerous presents of rich clothes, ponies, and guineas, warbled some amorous verses. A party of twenty courtiers was seated at cards round a large table on which gold was heaped in mountains. Even then the King had complained that he did not feel quite well. He had no appetite for his supper: his rest that night was broken; but on the following morning he rose as usual, early.

To that morning the contending factions in this country had, during some days, looked forward with anxiety. The struggle between Halifax and Rochester seemed to be approaching a decisive crisis. Halifax, not content with having already driven his rival from the board of treasury, had undertaken to prove him guilty of such dishonesty or neglect in the conduct of the finances as ought to be punished by dismission from the public service. It was even whispered that the lord president would probably be sent to the tower before night. The King had promised to inquire into the matter. The second of February had been fixed for the investigation; and several officers of the revenue had been ordered to attend with their books on that day. But a great turn of fortune was at hand.

Scarcely had Charles risen from his bed when his attendants perceived that his utterance was indistinct, and that his thoughts seemed to be wandering. Several men of rank had, as usual, assembled to see their sovereign shaved and dressed. He made an effort to converse with them in his usual gay style; but his ghastly look surprised and alarmed them. Soon his face grew black, his eyes turned in his head; he uttered a cry, staggered, and fell into the arms of Thomas Lord Bruce, eldest son of the Earl of Ailesbury. A physician who had charge of the royal retorts and crucibles happened to be present. He had no lancet; but he opened a vein with a penknife. The blood flowed freely; but the King was still insensible.

He was laid on his bed, where, during a short time, the Duchess of Portsmouth hung over him with the familiarity of a wife. But the alarm had been given. The Queen and the Duchess of York were hastening to the room. The favourite concubine was forced to retire to her own apartments.—Those apartments had been thrice pulled down and thrice rebuilt by her lover to gratify her caprice.—The very furniture of the chimney was massive silver. Several fine paintings, which properly belonged to the Queen, had been transferred to the dwelling of the mistress. The sideboards were piled with richly wrought plate. In the niches stood cabinets, the master-pieces of Japanese art. On the hangings, fresh from the looms of Paris, were depicted, in tints which no English tapestry could rival, birds of gorgeous plumage, landscapes, hunting matches, the lordly terrace of St. Germain's, the statues and fountains of Versailles. In the midst of this splendour, purchased by guilt and shame, the unhappy woman gave herself up to an agony of grief, which, to do her justice, was not wholly selfish.

And now the gates of Whitehall, which ordinarily stood open to all comers, were closed; but persons whose faces were known, were still permitted to enter. The antechambers and galleries were soon filled to overflowing; and even the sick room was crowded with peers, privy councillors, and foreign ministers. All the medical men of note in London were summoned. So high did political animosities run, that the presence of some Whig physicians was regarded as an extraordinary circumstance. One Roman Catholic, whose skill was then widely renowned, Dr. Thomas Short, was in attendance. Several of the prescriptions have been preserved. One of them is signed by fourteen doctors. The patient was bled largely. Hot iron was applied to his head. A loathsome volatile salt, extracted from human skulls, was forced into his mouth. He recovered his senses, but he was evidently in a situation of extreme danger.

The Queen was for a time assiduous in her attendance. The Duke of York scarcely left his brother's bedside. The primate and four other bishops were then in London. They remained at Whitehall all day, and took it by turns to sit up all night in the King's room. The news of his illness filled the capital with sorrow and dismay. For his easy temper and affable manners had won the affection of a large part of the nation; and those who most disliked him preferred his unprincipled levity to the stern and earnest bigotry of his brother.

On the morning of Thursday, the fifth of February, the London Gazette announced that his majesty was going on well, and was thought by the physicians to be out of danger. The bells of all the churches rang merrily; and preparations for bonfires were made in the streets. But in the evening it was known that a relapse had taken place, and that the medical attendants had given up all hope. The public mind was greatly disturbed; but there was no disposition to tumult. The Duke of York, who had already taken on himself to give orders, ascertained that the city was perfectly quiet, and that he might, without difficulty, be proclaimed as soon as his brother should expire.

The King was in great pain, and complained that he felt as if a fire was burning within him. Yet he bore up against his sufferings with a fortitude which did not seem to belong to his soft and luxurious nature. The sight of his misery affected his wife so much that she fainted, and was carried senseless to her chamber. The prelates who were in waiting had from the first exhorted him to prepare for his end. They now thought it their duty to address him in a still more urgent manner. William Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, an honest and pious, though narrow-minded man, used great freedom. "It is time," he said, "to speak out; for, sir, you are about to appear before a Judge who is no respecter of persons." The King answered not a word.

Thomas Kent, bishop of Bath and Wells, then tried his powers of persuasion. He was a man of parts and learning, of quick sensibility and stainless virtue. His elaborate works have long been forgotten; but his morning and evening hymns are still repeated daily in thousands of dwellings. Though, like most of his order, zealous for monarchy, he was no sycophant. Before he became a bishop, he had maintained the honour of his gown by refusing, when the court was at Winchester, to let Eleanor Gwyn lodge in the house which he occupied there as a prebendary. The King had sense enough to respect so manly a spirit. Of all the prelates, he liked Kent the best. It was to no purpose, however, that the good bishop now put forth all his eloquence. His solemn and pathetic exhortation awed and melted the bystanders to such a degree that some among them believed him to be filled with the same spirit which, in the old time, had, by the mouths of Nathan and Elias, called sinful princes to repentance. Charles, however, was unmoved. He made no objection, indeed, when the service for the Visitation of the Sick was read. In reply to the pressing questions of the divines, he said that he was sorry for what he had done amiss; and he suffered the absolution to be pronounced over him, according to the forms of the Church of England; but when he was urged to declare that he died in the communion of that church, he seemed not to hear what was said; and nothing could induce him to take the Eucharist from the hands of the bishops. A table with bread and wine was brought to his bedside, but in vain. Sometimes he said that there was no hurry, and sometimes that he was too weak.

Many attributed this apathy to contempt for divine things, and many to the stupor which often precedes death. But there were in the palace a few persons who knew better. Charles had never been a sincere member of the established church. His mind had long oscillated between Hobbism and Popery. When his health was good, and his spirits high, he was a scoffer. In his few serious moments he was a Roman Catholic. The Duke of York was aware of this, but was entirely occupied with the care of his own interests. He had ordered the outports to be closed. He had posted detachments of the guards in different parts of the city. He had also procured the feeble signature of the dying King to an instrument by which some duties granted only till the demise of the crown, were let to farm for a term of three years. These things occupied the attention of James to such a degree that, though on ordinary occasions he was indiscreetly and unseasonably eager to bring over proselytes to his church, he never reflected that his brother was in danger of dying without the last sacraments. This neglect was the more extraordinary because the Duchess of York had, at the request of the Queen, suggested, on the morning on which the King was taken ill, the propriety of procuring spiritual assistance. For such assistance Charles was at last indebted to an agency very different from that of his pious wife and sister-in-law. A life of frivolity and vice had not extinguished in the Duchess of Portsmouth all sentiments of religion, or all that kindness which is the glory of her sex. The French ambassador, Barillon, who had come to the palace to inquire after the King, paid her a visit. He found her in an agony of sorrow. She took him into a secret room, and poured out her whole heart to him. "I have," she said, "a thing of great moment to tell you. If it were known, my head would be in danger. The King is really and truly a Catholic; but he will die without being reconciled to the church. His bedchamber is full of protestant clergymen. I cannot enter without giving scandal. The Duke is thinking only of himself. Speak to him. Remind him that there is a soul at stake. He is master now. He can clear the room. Go this instant, or it will be too late."

Barillon hastened to the bed-chamber, took the duke aside, and delivered the message of the mistress. The conscience of James smote him. He started as if roused from sleep, and declared that nothing should prevent him from discharging the sacred duty which had been too long delayed. Several schemes were discussed and rejected. At last the duke commanded the crowd to stand aloof, went to the bed, stooped down, and whispered something which none of the spectators could hear, but which they supposed to be some question about affairs of State. Charles answered in an audible voice, "Yes, yes, with all my heart." None of the bystanders, except the French Ambassador, guessed that the King was declaring his wish to be admitted into the bosom of the Church of Rome.

"Shall I bring a Priest?" said the duke. "Do, brother," replied the sick man. "For God's sake do, and lose no time. But no; you will get into trouble." "If it costs me my life," said the duke, "I will fetch a Priest."

To find a Priest, however, for such a purpose, at a moment's notice, was not easy. For, as the law then stood, the person who admitted a proselyte into the Roman Catholic Church was guilty of a capital crime. The Count of Castel Melhor, a Portugese nobleman, who, driven by political troubles from his native land had been hospitably received at the English court, undertook to procure a confessor. He had recourse to his countrymen who belonged to the Queen's household, but he found that none of her chaplains knew English or French enough to shrive the King. The duke and Barillon were about to send to the Venetian minister for a clergyman, when they heard that a Benedictine monk, named John Huddleston, happened to be at Whitehall.—This man had, with great risk to himself, saved the King's life after the battle of Worcester, and had, on that account been, ever since the Restoration, a privileged person. In the sharpest proclamations which were put forth against popish priests, when false witnesses had inflamed the nation to fury, Huddleston had been excepted by name. He readily consented to put his life a second time in peril for his prince; but there was still a difficulty. The honest monk was so illiterate that he did not know what he ought to say on an occasion of such importance. He however obtained some hints, through the intervention of Castel Melhor, from a Portugese ecclesiastic; and, thus instructed, was brought up the back stairs by Chiffinch, a confidential servant—who, if the satires of that age are to be credited, had often introduced visitors of a very different description by the same entrance. The duke then, in the King's name, commanded all who were present to quit the room except Lewis Duras, Earl of Feversham, and John Granville, Earl of Bath. Both these lords professed the Protestant religion; but James conceived that he could count on their fidelity. Feversham of noble birth, and nephew of the great Turenne, held high rank in the English army, and was chamberlain to the Queen. Bath was groom of the stole.

The duke's orders were obeyed, and even the physicians withdrew. The back door was then opened, and Father Huddleston entered. A cloak had been thrown over his sacred vestments, and his shaven crown was concealed by a flowing wig. "Sir," said the duke, "this good man once saved your life. He now comes to save your soul." Charles faintly answered. "He is welcome." Huddleston went through his part better than had been expected.—He knelt by the bed, and listened to the confession, pronounced the absolution, and administered extreme unction. He asked if the King wished to receive the Lord's supper. "Surely," said Charles, "if I am not unworthy." The host was brought in.—Charles feebly strove to rise and kneel before it.—The priest bade him be still, and assured him that God would accept the humiliation of the soul, and would not require the humiliation of the body.—The King found so much difficulty in swallowing the bread, that it was necessary to open the door and to procure a glass of water. The rite ended, the monk held up a crucifix before the penitent, charged him to fix his last thoughts upon the sufferings of the Redeemer, and withdrew. The whole ceremony had occupied about three-quarters of an hour; and, during that time, the courtiers who filled the outer room had communicated their suspicions to each other by whispers and significant glances. The door was at length thrown open, and the crowd again filled the chamber of death.

It was now late in the evening. The King seemed much relieved by what had passed. His natural children were brought to his bedside, the dukes of Grafton, Southampton, and Northumberland, sons of the Duchess of Cleveland, the Duke of St. Alban's son of Eleanor Gwynn, and the Duke of Richmond, son of the Duchess of Portsmouth. Charles blessed all, but spoke with peculiar tenderness to Richmond. "One face which should have been there was wanting." The eldest and best beloved child was an exile and a wanderer. His name was not once mentioned by his father.

During the night Charles earnestly recommended the Duchess of Portsmouth and her boy to the care of James; "And do not," he good naturedly added, "let poor Nelly starve." The Queen sent excuses for her absence by Halifax. She said that she was too much disordered to resume her post by the couch, and implored pardon for any offence which she might unwittingly have given. "She ask my pardon, poor woman!" cried Charles; "I ask hers with all my heart."

The morning light began to peep through the windows of Whitehall; and Charles desired the attendants to pull aside the curtains, that he might have one more look at the day. He remarked that it was time to wind up a clock which stood near his bed. These little circumstances were long remembered, because they proved beyond dispute that when he declared himself a Roman Catholic, he was in full possession of his faculties. He apologized to those who had stood around him all night for the trouble which he had caused. He had been, he said, a most unconscionable time dying; but he hoped that they would excuse it. This was the last glimpse of that exquisite urbanity, so often found potent to charm away the resentment of a justly incensed nation. Soon after dawn the speech of the dying man failed. Before ten his senses were gone. Great numbers had repaired to the churches at the hour of morning service. When the prayer for the King was read, loud groans and sobs showed how deeply his people felt for him. At noon on Friday, the 6th of February, he passed away without a struggle.

HISTORY OF PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON.

"*It is better to die a king than live a prince,*" said Napoleon, in 1806, to his brother Louis, when he forced him to accept the crown of Holland. The fourth and favourite son of *Madame Mere*, (as Napoleon willed that his mother should be called,) Louis feared exposing his feeble constitution to the damp atmosphere of reclaimed marshes, intersected by stagnant canals, and he preferred his book to a place among the king-vassals of Imperial France. Not so his wife, Hortensia Beauharnais, the daughter of Josephine, by her first marriage, and the inheritor of her mother's Creole impetuosity and daring ambition. She prevailed upon her husband to mount the Dutch throne, and naming her youngest son after the step-father, Napoleon, she ever taught him that it was "better to die a king than live a prince." Twice he has been thwarted in his attempts to grasp the imperial sceptre which his uncle wielded with such bloody sway, but now that he has been called to the Presidential chair, it will be an easy matter to put on the Imperial Purple. Be this as it may, it will not be amiss, at the present stage of his power, to review his past life, that every reader may judge for himself of the new President's capability to restore permanent quiet to France.

Napoleon Louis was born in Paris on the 20th April, 1808, and was christened Charles Louis Bonaparte, though he signs his name as we give it. Napoleon, who was his god-father, always showed a great partiality for him, as did the Empress Louisa. Queen Hortensia's oldest son was mysteriously killed in Italy, during a revolutionary attempt, and she educated Napoleon Louis with doubled affection, at the Chateau of Arenenberg, in Switzerland. Exiled from France, she thirsted for revenge upon the Bourbons, and instilled into the mind of her son that he was destined to uphold the honour of his name, to punish the persecutors of his family, and to open to his country some way to that glory which it ever pursues, like an *ignis fatuus*.

Prince Louis made his first revolutionary attempt in 1836, when he succeeded in securing the offices of the strongly fortified town of Strasbourg, to his interests, and laid a plan which is pronounced bold, and well understood. The Alsacian democrats were first to be gained over, by holding out to them a prospect of a fair convocation of the people; the garrison of Strasbourg was to be captivated by the cry of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The citizens were to be summoned to liberty, the young men of the schools to arms, the ramparts were to be entrusted to the keeping of the national guards, and then the Prince was to march at the head of the soldiers to Paris.

Unfortunately for the Prince, he lost his way, and led his partisans into a long court, mistaking it for an adjoining street. He was here blockaded by a faithful company of infantry, and forced to surrender. He was then sent to the United States, where it was understood that he was to remain ten years, but long ere the expiration of this period of exile, he returned to Europe. Louis Philippe protested against his remaining in Switzerland, where he himself, when an exile, had been hospitably sheltered, but the descendants of Tell refused to give him up, and a war was on the point of breaking out, when the Prince, for the sake of maintaining peace, voluntarily left for England.

He again attempted to revolutionize France by the magic of his name, and landed at Boulogne in an English steamer, accompanied by General Montholon and a few others who had served under his Imperial uncle. An eagle lit on his head as he unfurled the tri-coloured flag when he stepped on the shore, which was regarded as an auspicious omen, though it has since appeared that the bird had been regularly trained to alight on the Prince's hat, where a piece of beef-steak rewarded him. The invasion failed, and was in fact a mad, ill-conceived scheme.

The Prince was taken prisoner, and locked up in the old fortress of Ham, a gloomy pile, built by Louis XI. He remained a prisoner here for some years, and we have often heard Dr. Brewster, (of Norwich, Connecticut,) who used to pay him a denial visit twice a year, speak of him as a handsome, well informed man. Once, Dr. Brewster said, while walking on a bastion of the fortress with the Prince, a sentry presented arms. "See," said the Prince, "how the soldiers love me. That poor fellow will be sentenced to six days in the black hole for that act of military respect, yet I am positive that I shall never pass a French soldier who does not salute the nephew and namesake of *l'Empereur!*"

Louis Philippe was well aware of the popularity the Prince enjoyed among the troops, and refused to listen to any of his petitions, for release. In 1846 he heard that his father was dying, and begged to be permitted to visit him at Florence, promising to return to his prison. He could not soften Louis Philippe's heart, so he escaped in the disguise of a workman, and we copy his own account of his flight, in a letter to a friend:

"My dear M. Degeorge—My desire to see my father once more in this world made me attempt the boldest enterprise I ever engaged in. It required more resolution and courage on my part than at Strasbourg and Boulogne, for I was determined not to submit to the ridicule that attaches to those who are arrested escaping under a disguise, and a failure I could not have endured. The following are the particulars of my escape:

You know that the fort was guarded by 400 men, who furnished daily 60 soldiers, placed as sentries outside the walls. Moreover, the principal gate of the prison guarded by three gaolers, two of whom were constantly on duty. It was necessary that I should first elude their vigilance, afterwards traverse the inside court, before the windows of the commandant's residence; and arriving there, I should be obliged to pass by a gate which was guarded by soldiers.

Not wishing to communicate my design to any one, it was necessary to disguise myself. As several rooms in the part of the building I occupied were undergoing repairs, it was not difficult to assume the dress of a workman. My good and faithful valet, Charles Telin, procured a smock frock, and a pair of sabots (wooden shoes,) and after shaving off my moustaches, I took a plank on my shoulders.

On Monday morning I saw the workmen enter, at half-past eight o'clock. Charles took them some drink, in order that I should not meet any of them on my passage. He was also to call one of the *gardiens* [turnkeys] whilst Dr. Conneau conversed with the other. Nevertheless, I had scarcely got out of my room, before I was accosted by a workman, who took me for one of his comrades, and at the bottom of the stairs, I found myself in front of the keeper. Fortunately, I placed the plank I was carrying before my face.

Passing before the first sentinel, I let my plank fall, and stopped to pick up the bits. There I met the officer on duty, but, as he was reading a letter, he paid no attention to me. The soldiers at the guard-house appeared surprised at my dress, and a drummer turned round several times to look at me. I next met some workmen, who looked very attentively at me. I placed the plank before my face, but they appeared to be so curious that I thought I should never escape them, until I heard them cry, "O! it is Bernard!"

Once outside I walked quickly towards the road of St. Quentin. Charles, who, the day before, had engaged a carriage, shortly overtook me, and we arrived at St. Quentin. I passed through the town on foot, after having thrown off my smock frock. Charles procured a post chaise, under pretext of going to Cambrai. We arrived without meeting with any obstacles, at Valenciennes, where I took the railway. I had procured a Belgian passport, but nowhere was I asked to show it.

During my escape, Dr. Conneau, always so devoted to me, remained in prison, and caused them to believe I was ill, in order to give me time to reach the frontier. It was necessary to be convinced that the Government would never set me at liberty before I could be persuaded to quit France, if I would not consent to dishonour myself. It was also a matter of duty that I should exert all my powers to be able to console my father in his old age.

Adieu, my dear M. Degeorge, although free, I feel myself to be most unhappy. Receive the assurance of my sincere friendship, and if you are able, endeavour to be useful to my kind Conneau.

LOUIS NAPOLEON."

From Valenciennes he went to London, where he was much petted by the aristocracy, and in June was elected a representative to the National Assembly from the city of Paris. He immediately addressed a circular letter to his constituents, pledging himself to unite his "efforts with those of his colleagues to reestablish order, credit and labour; to secure peace abroad, to consolidate democratic institutions, and to reconcile interests which now appear hostile, because parties are struggling against each other, instead of working to one common end—the grandeur and prosperity of the country."

Lamartine looked upon the Prince with great jealousy after his election, and some drunken students having cried "*Vive Napoleon,*" he endeavoured to dignify them into a faction. He asserted that the Prince was aiming at the throne, and proposed in the National Assembly that the laws of 1816 and 1832 forbidding the entry of any of the Bonaparte family into France, should be enforced against Prince Louis.

The motion was received by the Assembly, but the next morning it was resolved, in direct opposition to the formal opinion of Lamartine, and his colleagues, that the "citizen, Louis Bonaparte, should be proscribed, but permitted to take his seat in the National Assembly." He made his appearance in the hall a few days afterwards, and has conducted himself with more moderation as a Representative than his previous rash conduct would lead one to expect.

The Prince has occupied apartments at the Rhine Hotel, in the *Place Vendome*, his windows looking upon the column raised to commemorate his Imperial Uncle's victories. Here he has received visits from all the surviving remnant of that army who followed the tri-colour in triumph through Europe, and perhaps arranged his plans for the restoration of the *Empire Français!* The adherents of Louis Philippe all aided him—some say, because they wished to see a monarchy reëstablished, and thought it would be easy to oust him—others think that he has promised to make the young Count de Paris his heir, having no *legitimate* children himself.

But his great support has been from the people, who have plaster busts of the Emperor in their humble dwellings, and prints of his conquests in their work-shops. They have been governed by their predelections for a great name—which was after all, a curse to France and to Europe—and they will be equally willing to throw up their caps and cry.—

VIVE NAPOLEON II.—*Boston Bee.*

The *Literary World* gives the following amusing chapter from the forthcoming volume of the Historical Society of New Jersey.

CORNBURY AND THE NEW JERSEY ASSEMBLY.—"All who are at all familiar with the history of New Jersey, will readily call to mind the sharp passages of words which took place between the Assembly and the Governor in 1707. A series of the most wanton and flagrant acts of tyranny and rapacity had so exhausted the patience of the House, that, instead of paying the least regard to his constant demands for money, they resolved themselves into a committee of the whole to consider of their grievances.—After resolving to petition the queen for his removal, they drew up a long remonstrance to be presented to Lord Cornbury in person, laden with their complaints. The memorable production was from the pen of Lewis Morris, who, after his expulsion from the Council, had been returned as a member of the Assembly; and it was certainly couched in no very courtly style, nor expressed in very measured terms. Various were the counts in this indictment. The Governor—for by this title only did they now address him—was charged with long and unnecessary absence from the Province—with refusing to pass sentence of death upon two criminals—one of whom had been convicted of murdering her child, and the other of poisoning her husband—the blood of those innocent victims, it was said, cried aloud for vengeance, which just heaven would not fail to pour down upon their devoted country if such crimes went unpunished; with compelling persons unjustly accused to pay costs, although no bills were found against them by the Grand Jury; with unauthorised and arbitrary interference with the rights of the Proprietors; and, to crown the whole, with having received large sums of money raised for the purpose of procuring by bribery and corruption a dissolution of the Assembly. Liberty, they said, was too valuable a thing to be easily parted with, and when such violent endeavours were used to tear it from them, they had neither heads, hearts, nor souls, that would not be moved with the miseries of their country, and would not be forward with their utmost power lawfully to redress them. And they concluded by advising the Governor to consider what it was that principally engaged the affections of a people, and that he would find no other artifices needful, than to let them be unmolested in the enjoyment of what of right belonged to them; that a wise ... valued his own happiness, would earnestly labour to regain their love.

"Samuel Jenings was the Speaker of the Assembly, and upon him it devolved to present to the Governor this bold and spirited address; and certainly it lost nothing of pungency or point in the manner of its delivery. Not at all daunted by the assumed air of loftiness and disdain which the Governor put on in order to intimidate him, he read it in a clear, firm, and deliberate tone, and when interrupted, as he frequently was, by the cry of *stop! what's that?* whenever he came to the more offensive parts, instead of being disconcerted, with an appearance of great humility, he calmly desired leave to read the passages over again, which he did, says Smith, 'with an additional emphasis upon those the most complaining, so that on the second reading they became more observable than before.'

"When the Assembly had withdrawn, Cornbury said to those about him, 'that fellow Jenings has impudence enough to face the devil.' After the lapse of some days, the Governor sent for the House, and delivered his answer. It was written and delivered in a tone of insolent defiance, and contained a good deal of that low humour for which he was noted.

"In reference to the first charge, he says: 'The affairs of New York have never hindered the Government from attending those of New Jersey whenever it has been requisite; and I can safely say, I don't know of any grievances this Province labours under except it be the having a certain number of people in it who never will be faithful to, nor live quietly under any government, nor suffer their neighbours to enjoy any peace, quiet, or happiness, if they can help it.'

"As to the second charge he thus proceeds: 'As to what you say with relation to the apprehension you have, that just heaven will not fail to pour down vengeance upon your already miserable country, if these criminals are not made to suffer according to their demerits; I am of opinion, that nothing has hindered the vengeance of just heaven from falling upon this province long ago, but the infinite mercy, goodness, long-suffering, and forbearance of Almighty God, who has been abundantly provoked by the repeated crying sins of a perverse generation among us, and more especially by the dangerous and abominable practices of a number of people' (meaning the Quakers,) 'some of whom, under the pretended name of Christians, have dared to deny the very essence and being of the Saviour of the world.'

"With regard to persons paying fees against whom no bills had been found by the Grand Jury, he intimates, that if juries were in this country what they ought to be, there might possibly be some ground of complaint; 'but,' he adds, 'we find by woful experience, that there are many men who have been admitted to serve upon grand and petty juries, who have convinced the world that they have no regard for the oaths they take, especially among a sort of people, who, under a pretence of conscience refuse to take an oath; and yet many of them, under the cloak of a very solemn affirmation, dare to commit the greatest enormities, especially if it be to serve a friend, as they call him.' Jenings, you know, is a Quaker.

"Another complaint was, that there was but one office of the probate of wills, which was at Burlington, and that it was very expensive and inconvenient for persons living in remote parts of the Province to attend it. After pronouncing this complaint to be malicious, scandalous, and frivolous, contrived only to amuse poor ignorant people with notions of grievances, he says: 'But of all people in the world, the Quakers ought to be the last to complain of the hardships of travelling a few miles upon such an occasion, who never repine at the trouble and charges of travelling several hundred miles to a yearly meeting, where it is evidently known, that nothing was ever done for the good of the country, but on the contrary, continual contrivances are carried on for the undermining of the Government both in Church and State.'

"'These, Governor, are some of the grievances,' was one of the expressions in the remonstrance.—This, he says, is certainly one of the boldest assertions that ever was made, especially when there appears no manner of proof to make it out: 'And although I know very well that there are several unquiet spirits in the Province, who will never be content to live quiet under any government but their own, and not long under that neither, as appears by their methods of proceeding when the Government was in the hands of the Proprietors, when many of these very men who are now the remonstrancers, were in authority, and used the most arbitrary and illegal methods of proceeding over their fellow-subjects that were ever heard of; yet I am satisfied there are very few men in the Province, except Samuel Jenings and Lewis Morris—men known neither to have good principles nor good morals—who have ventured to accuse a Governor of such crimes, without any proof to make out their accusation; but they are capable of anything but good.'

"'I was going to conclude,' he says, 'with giving you some wholesome advice; but I consider that will be labour lost, and therefore will reserve it for persons who I hope will make a right use of it.'

"A replication to this answer was of course prepared by the Assembly, and a committee appointed to present it to the Governor; but he refused to receive it, and the House thereupon ordered that it should be entered on their journal. It was dignified and dispassionate, but entirely too long to be here inserted. There was one passage in it, however, too characteristic to be omitted. In reference to his repeated attacks upon the Quakers, they remind him that it was the General Assembly of the Province of New Jersey that complained, and not the Quakers, with whose persons and meetings they had nothing to do; but, it is added, 'Those of them who are members of this House, have begged leave, in behalf of themselves and their friends, to tell the Governor they must answer him in the words of Nehemiah to Sanballat, contained in the eighth verse of the sixth chapter of Nehemiah, viz: "*There are no such things done as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart.*"'

"The Governor, alarmed at the effect which these complaints and remonstrances might have at home, prevailed upon the Lieutenant Governor Ingoldsby, and some of the Council, to unite in an address to the Queen, in which they fully justify the whole of Lord Cornbury's conduct; pronounce the charges made against him by the Assembly false and malicious; and ascribe all the difficulties which had arisen to the 'turbulent, factious, and disloyal principles of two men in the Assembly, Lewis Morris and Samuel Jenings a Quaker—men notoriously known to be uneasy under all government—men never known to be consistent with themselves—men to whom all the factions and confusions in the Government of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, for many years are wholly owing.' The language of this address betokened but too clearly the source from which it emanated. It was in Lord Cornbury's own peculiar vein."

PASSAGES FROM NEW BOOKS.

The following *jeu d'esprit* from the pen of Theodore Hook is revived from the pages of the John Bull newspaper, among other clever things; in the "Life and Remains" of the great wit, immediately forthcoming:—*Literary World.*

ERRORS OF THE PRESS.

SIR,—We hear a great deal of the licentiousness of the press, and I am not disposed to say that there may not be some good grounds for the complaint; but I beg to assert that, to my own knowledge, much is charged to the account of the licentiousness, which is, in truth, only attributable to the errors of the press; and I have had the mortification to see articles of the most innocent information, from my own pen, conveyed to the public with all the colour of libels, by the mere mistake of a single letter.

For instance, I had occasion to report that a certain "noble lord was confined to his house with a violent cold;" next morning, I found that this innocuous piece of intelligence was metamorphused into a direct inroad on the peace of a noble family, by representing his lordship as being "confined with a violent scold." In the same way, on the occasion of a recent entertainment given by a noble leader of fashion, I had said, very truly, "that, amidst the festivities, the first point of attraction and admiration were her ladyship's looks;" this deserved compliment was changed by the printer into a satire on the whole company, as if the chief point of attraction had been "her ladyship's cooks." In a description of the regatta at Cowes, I was made to represent a lady of fashion as having formed a hasty and ill-assorted match "with a boy," when, in fact, I had only said that the Lady Louisa had, indeed, broken adrift, but had, "luckily before any mischief was done, been made fast to a buoy."

When I reported that "Lord A. had entertained Colonel B. Major C. the Hon. Mr. D. and a few other fashionable friends at dinner," I little expected to find these gentlemen represented as a company of "fashionable fiends." At the particular request of an eminent coachmaker, I mentioned that a noble person, well known for his good taste in equipages, and who happens to have a large and fine family, had launched "a new green cab;" but judge of my horror at seeing it stated, that ...

I have lately had the misfortune of being the inv... luntary cause of what is called a hoax upon the pu... lic: having announced that Lord K. had made a b... that he would "trot a mile" on the Harrow ro... in three minutes, an immense crowd assembled, an... was ready to proceed to outrage because his lor... ship did not "trot a mule," as the printer's err... had led them to expect.

Of a more serious kind are the injuries done ... private individuals, which no one deplores more th... I, the innocent cause of them. I was once employe... to recommend to public attention the astonishing t... lents and performances of that musical wond... "The Infant Lyra." I did my best; but the print... gave the whole a most unhappy and malicious a... pearance by making me, by the transposition of... letter, attribute all these prodigies to the "Infa... Lyar." On a late occasion, one of the papers talk... of "the general satisfaction given by the roy... lump." This looked like a brutal allusion to ... temporary illness of an illustrious duke. The tru... was, Mr. Editor, that I myself penned that pa... graph for an ingenious artist in Bond street, in ord... to recommend an improved kind of argand, whi... he denominated the "Royal Lamp;" and I nev... can sufficiently regret the injustice done to the ga... lant General Saldanha, who, in an account of h... conduct at Oporto, which I drew up under his ow... eye, was stated to have "behaved like a hero;" b... when it came to be printed, it unhappily appear... as if the General had "behaved like a hare."

What I wrote of "the Horticultural *fête*" w... altered into "the Horticultural fate," as if there w... a destiny affecting all the entertainments of that ... ciety. When the late Mr. Canning offered Lord ... the office of "Secretary of State," the public w... led, by a mere transposition of the letters, to belie... that a new office was to be instituted under the ti... of "Secretary of Taste;" and what gave the m... effect to this mistake was the noble lord's admi... fitness for the latter office. I once ventured to be... my humble testimony to the assiduous attendance... a certain reverend dean on the "Minster," but h... the mortification to find myself insinuating bla... against the worthy divine, "for his assiduous atte... ance on the Minister;" and what was still wor... having to communicate the deserved elevation ... "Doctor Jebb" to an Irish mitre, I was made to ... nounce that "Doctor Jobb" was to be the new Ir... bishop. I remember reporting the case of a po... French lady, who "appeared at Bow street with ... pug-dog in her arms," but the printer most ung... lantly stated the fair stranger to have appea... "with a pig in her arms;" and on the next day... her attendance a vast crowd had assembled to lo... at this extraordinary pet, and the poor Frenchwom... narrowly escaped being pelted for disappointing th... expectations. In something the same way, a ... spectable tradesman in Oxford street has had ... shop-windows broken, to the loss of near ... pounds, because, having invited the public to insp... his extensive assortment of a fine manufacture c... ed "linos" the printer chose "to invite the pu... to inspect a large assortment of the finest lions."

I am, sir, a warm friend of his Majesty's Gove... ment (for the time being), and cannot but dee... feel that even my political views are someti... distorted. Amongst the benefits to be expected fr... recent measures in Ireland, I had enumerated ... "increase of tillage,"—this was changed into ... crease of "pillage," and copied into all the ul... Troy papers; and when I said that these same m... sures of conciliation would induce every loyal a... well-disposed subject to unite "in quieting Irelan... it was perverted into a sneer, as if all loyal a... well-disposed subjects should unite "in quieting I... land."

Pray, sir, do me the justice to lay this explanat... letter before the public; above all, let it be corr... ly printed.

I am, sir, your humble servant,
A COURT REPORTER.

We very often suffer in a similar manner. Ab... two years since, we represented Mr. Peel as hav... joined a party of "fiends" in Hampshire for ... purpose of shooting "peasants;" and only last we... in a Scotch paper, we saw it gravely stated tha... "surgeon" was taken alive in the river, and sol... the inhabitants at 6*d* and 10*d* per lb.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

NITROGEN AND NOURISHMENT.—In a recent lecture ... the Manchester Mechanics' Institute, Dr. J. S. Wilkin... said: The amount of nitrogen in any edible indicates ... amount of nourishment which it contains. Rice conta... 1.39 per cent of nitrogen; human milk, 1.59; cow's m... 3.18; white bread, 2.27; brown bread, 2.68; beans, ... salmon, 12.35; haddock, 12.95; 13.55; beef, 14.95; ... ham, 13.48; boiled skate, 15.22.

TEMPERANCE PLEDGE BREAKING.—The Catholic cl... of this city continue to call the names of such per... from their respective altars, on Sundays, as have b... fined at the police-office by the magistrate for pu... drunkeness during the week previous. This course ... well devised by our good bishop, aided by the magistr... has had, we are glad to perceive, a very salutary effe... since the number of names denounced on Sunday ... was considerably diminished compared with that of ... two previous weeks. We understand, also, that sev... of these unhappy offenders have, in consequence of ... exposure, renewed their pledge, and are now obser... correct and temperate habits.—*Limerick Chronicle.*

CONSIGNMENT OF EAST INDIA COTTON.—Mr. H... Fleming, secretary of the Manchester Commercial A... ciation, has this week received a letter from the ... India Company, informing him that they have instruc... their agent, Mr. William Rathbone, of Liverpool, to ... ward to him 612 bales, four half bales, and four bundle... cotton, from Bombay, per the ship *Pemberton.* T... cotton is the produce of the collectorates of Dhawar, ... gaum, and Khandeish, of the season of 1846-7, and is to ... disposed of in the usual manner. The larger part of ... consignment consists of native seed cotton; but that ... tion of it which is from Dhawar is grown from Ameri... seed. The accounts seem to indicate that this shipm... is for the most part of superior quality. The prev... consignment of 620 bales, all Surats, was disposed of ... week, at from 3¼d. to 3½d. per lb. *Glasgow Examiner.*

THE NEW ELECTRIC LIGHT.—The second public exp... mental exhibition of the new Electric light took place... Tuesday night upon the raised steps forming the entra... to the National Gallery and the Royal Academy. Th... was a large attendance of scientific gentlemen and no... men. Upon the summit of the steps a kind of easel ... raised, beneath which were placed the battery and a s... lamp. About a foot above the battery was the light ... duced burning upon two pieces of charcoal, backed ... single tin reflector, and the light enclosed within a g... case. The light produced was of a most powerful cha... ter. The easel on which the machinery was suspen... admitted of being turned about, and, as its position ... altered, objects within several hundred yards distance w... rendered as clearly visible as in the light of day; and ... sons at a considerable distance beyond the Nelson colu... were enabled to read a newspaper distinctly. The paten... stated that the light would be particularly applicable ... light-houses, and added that the light then exhibiting, ... expense of which would not exceed a halfpenny an ho... if placed at an altitude with the reflector above it w... perfectly illuminate an area of ten miles in circumferen... and that it would be possible to produce a light wh... should illuminate an area of 100 miles.—*Douglass Jerro... Newspaper.*

NOTICE—MISSING—THE GREAT SEA SERPENT. Had ... when last met with, a bunch of sea-weed round his n... a seal-skin coat, with a very long tail and "continuatio... of a most extensive character. He had been going la... to very great lengths; but his friends fear that he ... have come to an untimely end; for when last seen, ... appeared to be almost at his last extremities. He need ... be afraid to make his appearance again, and unfold h... self without scruple; but he must embrace the pre... opportunity, or he is forever lost. (*Punch.*)

QUEEN VICTORIA A SNUFF-TAKER! "We perceive," s... Jerrold's weekly, "that Messrs. G. Stiven and Son, ... Laurencekirk, have been appointed snuff-takers to ... Queen." Will it be credited that this young woman, w... has enjoyed the advantages of a good education, who ... said to sing some, and to draw pictures worth steali... who is the mother of a large and increasing family, a... has access to some of the best society in London, to ... nothing of her being a lady patroness at Almack's, is ... only a snuff-taker, *but carries a box?*

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